Elements of

JAINA ICONOGRAPHY

Maruti Nandan Prasad Tiwari

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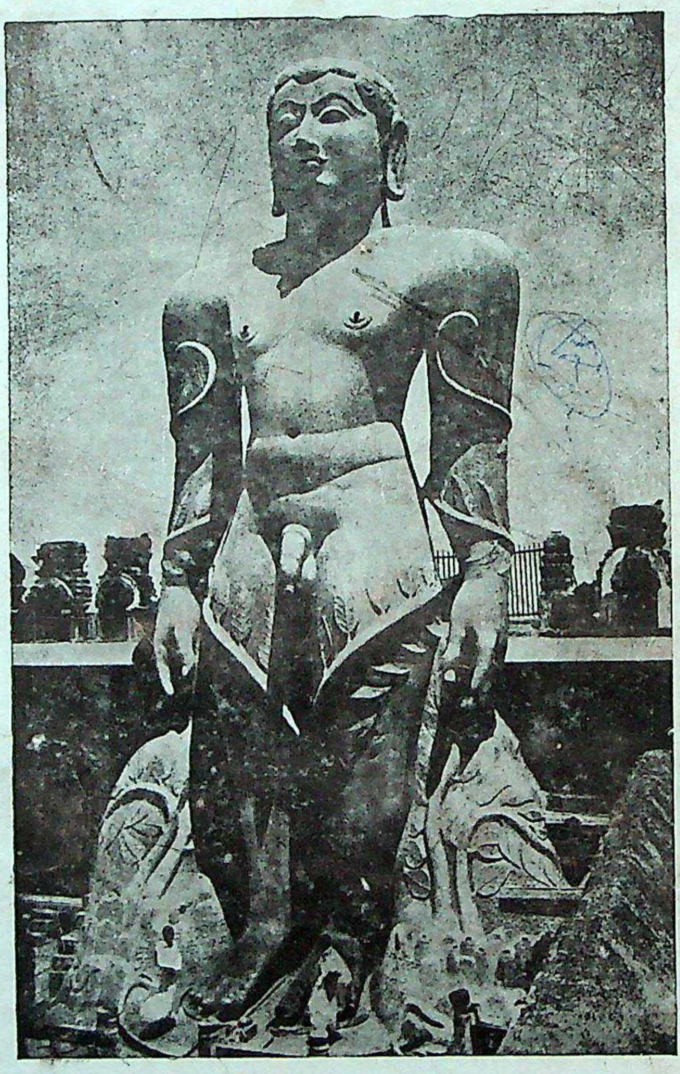

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ABOUT THE BOOK

The 'ELEMENTS OF JAINA
CONOGRAPHY' endeavours to
give a detailed and critical assesse-
nent of the origin and development
of Jaina iconography. It contains
aluable material on the iconogra-
hy of Bahubali, Bharata Cakr-
arti, Ganesha, Sarasvati, Cama,
ivantasvami Mahavira, Mahavi-
dyas and the **Yakshis** Cakreshvari,
mbika, Padmavati and Siddha-
ika. The details about the **dvitirthi,**
ritirthi and **caumukhi (pratima sar-**
vatobhadrika) icons are perticularly
nteresting. The work assumes
pecial significance, because, several
mages and representations are
iscussed here for the first time.

The work is based on a detailed
and comprehensive study of some
of the sites of north India which in
he past had witnessed prolific
Jaina activities, namely Khajuraho,
Deogarh, Mathura, Osian, Kum-
bharia, Mt. Abu, Khandagiri etc.
The illustrations, inconographic
tables and bibliography further add
to its value.

Elements of Jaina Iconography

By

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To

The Sacred Memory of

My Father

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FOREWORD

Dr. Maruti Nandan Prasad Tiwari has been rendering very important service to the art-historian community by his researches and publications, He has specialized in the study of Jaina Iconography which presents a complex problem, being a product of centuries of evolutionary thought and its artistic representations. Dr. Tiwari's devotion and dedication to this field of study has paid dividends and he has been able to find a number of unique images which throw new light on this important subject. Moreover, he has been able to successfully identify certain images for example the figure of Mallinātha in the State Museum, Lucknow and an image of Manovegā Yakṣī which were unnoticed so far. A host of images also discovered and discussed by Dr. Tiwari in this book, do not correspond to the canonic prescriptions. They should not be treated as freaks but that they represent such streams of Jaina traditions which are now lost to us...for no image was produced without its sectarian background.

The present book-Elements of Jaina Iconography-devotes itself mainly to the iconographies of the Tīrthaṅkaras, Yakṣīs, Mahāvidyās and other related Jaina deities. Other panels like the Rāma panel from Khajurāho, are also treated to complete the picture. Thus, with the textual support as the basis for discussion, the author has presented a fuller picture of Jaina sculptural art and its iconography.

The present work is based on a detailed and comperehensive study of certain important centres of Jaina Art in north India, like Khajurāho, Deogarh, Osiāñ, Kumbhāriā, Khaṇḍagiri (Orissa) etc. and a similar study of the south Indian sites as a complementary volume will be very welcome. This book is based on a string of papers, already published by the author from time to time. Now they are presented in book-form which would help the reader in following this topic as a connected reading material. Jaina iconography is further complicated by its Śvetāmbara and Digambara divisions : Dr. Tiwari has aptly classified these variations in tabular forms which would be helpful in understanding these distinctions. Adequate plates have also been provided to illustrate the points. Some of the highlights of this book are : detailed discussions on "borrowings" from the Brahmanical iconography alongwith their symbolic import, the premier in-depth study of Bharata Chakravartī, Bāhubalī, Gaṇeśa, *Dvi-tīrthika*, *Tri-tīrthika* and Jaina *Chaumukhī* (*Sarvatobhadra*) figures etc.

I am confident that this book will be helpful to the students and scholars alike, working in the field of Indian Iconography for which the author deserves our hearty thanks.

Prof. Dr. Anand Krishna
Head,
Deptt. of History of Art,
Banaras Hindu University,
Varanasi.

ABOUT BOOK

I am very glad to go through the book entitled *Elements of Jaina Iconography* by Dr. Maruti Nandan Prasad Tiwari. In the present work the learned writer, who has specialized in the field of Jaina art, has discussed in detail the origin and development of iconography of the Jaina pantheon. He has particularly given critical details of the relevant material discovered at Osiañ, Kumbhāriā, Khajurāho, Deogarh and a few other ancient sites. The descriptions of the Tīrthaṅkaras, Yakṣas and Yakṣīs, Mahāvidyās, Bāhubalī, Bharata Chakravartī, Gaṇeśa, Sarasvatī and some minor deities are supported by the literary and archaeological source material.

The book is the first of its kind giving a critical treatment of the subject. Some of the icons discussed in the present work have not been dealt with by the previous writers.

I have no doubt that the work will fulfil a long felt want. The illustrations, iconographic tables and the bibliography add to the utility of the present publication.

Prof. Dr. K. D. Bajpai,
Tagore Professor & Head of
the Department of Ancient
Indian History, Culture &
Archaeology,
Sagar University, Sagar. (Retd.)

PREFACE

As in several other fields, Jainism has also contributed to the iconographic aspect of Indian sacred images. But, somehow, the study of Jaina iconography has been less attended to notwithstanding the pioneering works of scholars like T. N. Ramachandran, B. C. Bhattacharya, and the current extensive and intensive work by U. P. Shah as well as Klaus Brühn. The study of Jaina iconography so far done was mostly based on literature. However, U. P. Shah modified the situation by introducing substantial archaeological material. But, even in his profound studies, the iconic data of different archaeological sites have not been presented in their fulness.

In the present work, an attempt has been made to give a detailed and critical assessment of the origin and development of Jaina iconography in Northern India from the earliest time to the 12th century A. D. with comparative notes on the parallel South Indian material wherever exigency demanded. The work is based mainly on the detailed and comprehensive study of the iconic data of some of the Jaina sites of North India which in past had witnessed prolific Jaina activities, such as Deogarh, Mathurā, Khajurāho, Osiāñ, Kumbhāriā, Mt. Ābū, Khaṇḍagiri etc. The material presented in the book on the iconography of Bāhubalī, Bharata Cakravartī, Gaṇeśa, Sarasvatī, Rāma, Mahāvidyās, Jaina *caumukhī*, Siddhāyikā, Padmāvatī and a few other *yakṣīs* is of special importance inasmuch as it is for the first time published here. The iconographic tables and the detailed bibliography have also been added. The treatment of the subject has always been historical and the sculptural data have been compared with the relevant textual prescriptions for showing the development of particular iconic form.

I must record, at this juncture my gratitude to those who assisted me in one or the other way in preparing this book. My heartfelt thanks are due to my revered teacher Dr. L. K. Tripathi, Reader, Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Banaras Hindu University. Due largely to his sympathies and encouragement, not in the least the technical guidance, I could undertake studies on Jaina iconography. I am likewise grateful to Prof. (Dr.) Anand Krishna, Head, Department of History of Art, Banaras Hindu University, for writing the foreword to this book. He has always been taking keen interest in my work and occasionally gave valuable suggestions.

I am also indebted to Prof. (Dr.) K.D. Bajpai, former Tagore Professor & Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture & Archaeology, Sagar University, Sagar, Dr. U. P. Shah, former Deputy Director, Oriental Institute, Baroda, Dr. Sagar Mal Jain, Director, P. V. Jain Research Institute, Varanasi, Shri Krishnā

Deva, Consultant, American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi, Shri M. A. Dhaky, Associate Director (Research), American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi, Dr. J. N. Tiwari, Reader, Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture & Archaeology, Banaras Hindu University, and Dr. Balaram Srivastava, Reader, Department of History of Art, Banaras Hindu University, who have always been source of inspiration and guidance to me. I am also thankful to Dr. (Mrs.) Kamal Giri, Lecturer, Department of History of Art, Banaras Hindu University for her kind help in proof-reading and several sundry matters. I deeply appreciate ungrudging assistance extended to me by the American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi, also the editor, the *Jain Journal*, Calcutta, P. V. Jain Research Institute, and Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi, for supplying photographs and blocks. To Shri Digvijay Singh, proprietor M/S Indological Book House, Lanka, Varanasi also are my special thanks, for publishing this book. The printers are likewise to be thanked for their cooperation.

Although I have made some effort to cast fresh light on the study of Jaina iconography, I am aware of my personal limitations reflected in the shortcomings of the production : I crave the indulgence of readers and reviewers for their kind suggestions.

MARUTI NANDAN PRASAD TIWARI

BANARAS HINDU UNIVERSITY
April 21, 1983 : Rāmanavamī

I

INTRODUCTION

Jainism has been one of the three principal religions of ancient India. While much work has been done on Jainism but Jaina art and iconography have remained largely ignored notwithstanding the pioneering works of such scholars as T.N. Ramachandran, B. C. Bhattacharya and U. P. Shah[1]. In the following pages an attempt has been made to trace and evaluate the growth of Jaina iconography in northern India from the earliest times to the 12th century A. D. and, where necessary, comparison has also been made with examples from south India.[2]

The political and economic conditions always influence the development of religion and art. As regards Jainism, it received patronage and support from the rulers of north as well as south India.[3] However, in comparison to south India, the number of rulers embracing Jainism is small in north India[4], and yet Jainism remained a popular religion throughout amongst almost all the ruling dynasties and the masses, specially the business class. There are inscriptional evidences from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, Mathura, Osiā, Khajurāho, Jalore and several other places which frequently refer to the *śreṣṭhin, sārthavāha, gandhika, suvarṇakāra, vardhakin, lauhakarmaka, nāvika, nartaka, veśyās* and different *goṣṭhīs* of traders making significant contributions towards Jainism.[5]

The contribution of north India in the development of Jaina iconography is of much more significance than has been brought out. According to the Jaina tradition, all the twenty-four Jinas of the present *avasarpiṇī* age were born in this region and it was here that they spent their active life. Perhaps this was the reason that all the early Jaina texts were written in north India and the Jinas and other Jaina deities gained sculptural representations in the region. The earliest Jaina images with their characteristic iconographic features such as the falling hair-locks of Ṛṣabhanātha, seven-hooded snake canopy of Pārśvanātha, the *śrīvatsa,* the *uṣṇīṣa,* the *aṣṭaprātihāryas,* the cognizances and the *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* pairs with the Jinas etc., appeared first in the region. However, the *uṣṇīṣa* is generally absent in the Jina images of south India and the *śrīvatsa* is carved on the right side of the chest instead of being in the centre.[6] The figures of the Jaina Mahāvidyās, twenty-four *Yakṣīs,* Jīvantasvāmī Mahāvīra, Jaina tutelary couples, and few others are conspicuous by their absence in south India.

While Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra were the most favoured Jinas in south India, Ṛṣabhanātha and Pārśvanātha were the most favoured ones in the north. Among the *Yakṣīs,* Cakreśvarī, Ambikā and Padmāvatī were accorded the most favoured position in the north, while in the south the popularity of Cakreśvarī was replaced by that of

Jvālāmālinī. The north India has yielded the remains of both the Śvetāmbara and the Digambara sects whereas the remains from south belong only to the Digambara sect.

The Indus-Valley civilization is the earliest civilization of India. The figures on some of the seals from Mohen-jo-dāro and also a male torso from Harappā remind of the Jina images on account of their nudity and posture, identical with *kāyotsarga-mudrā*.[7] But nothing can be said with certainty until the Indus-Valley script is deciphered finally.

Apart from the evidence referred to above where authenticity is still a matter of doubt, we do not have any literary or archaeological evidence regarding any Jina image prior to Mahāvīra. Mahāvīra is never said to have visited any Jina temple or worshipped any Jina image.[8] In this connection it would be relevant to make reference to the Jīvantasvāmī Mahāvīra image which is said to have been carved in the life-time of Mahāvīra (6th cent. B. C.), hence called Jīvantasvāmī or Jīvitasvāmī. According to the tradition, a sandal-wood image of Mahāvīra was carved during his *tapas* in palace, about a year prior to his renunciation as a prince, wearing *mukuṭa* and other royal ornaments. U. P. Shah, the first to bring the Jīvantasvāmī image to the notice of scholars,[9] has accepted the literary tradition and conceded that Jīvantasvāmī image was carved in the life-time of Mahāvīra. He has tried to reinforce his view by referring to the two Jīvantasvāmī images of the Gupta period discovered from Akoṭā in Gujarat.[10] These images exhibit Jīvantasvāmī in the *kāyotsarga-mudrā* and wearing usual dress and ornaments, and one of the images bears the word 'Jivantasāmī' in the pedestal inscription.

The Jaina *Āgamas* and the *Kalpasūtra* do not refer to the Jīvantasvāmī image. The earliest references to these images are found in the later commentaries of the *Āgamas* (c. 6th cent. A.D. onwards), which mention the existence of the Jīvantasvāmī images at Kośala, Ujjain, Daśapur, Vidiśā, Purī and Vītabhayapaṭṭana.[11] The *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra* (1169-72 A. D.) of Hemacandra, dealing with the story and the iconographic features[12] of the Jīvantasvāmī images at length (*Parva* 10, *Sarga* 11), mentions that Kumārapāla Chaulukya caused the excavations at Vītabhayapaṭṭana and unearthed the Jīvantasvāmī image. According to Hemacandra, the first and the original image prepared by god Vidyunmālī was installed at Vidiśā. It is also interesting to note that there is no mention of Jīvantasvāmī image in the Digambara works and naturally therefore no Digambara Jīvantasvāmī image is found anywhere. Probably this absence was due to the representation of Jīvantasvāmī with dress and ornaments.

However, since we have no literary or archaeological reference to the Jīvantasvāmī image prior to the fifth-sixth century A. D., we cannot accept the contemporaneity of the tradition of Jīvantasvāmī image with Mahāvīra.

The earliest known Jina image, preserved in the Patna Museum, comes from Lohānīpur (Patna, Bihar) and is datable to c. third century B. C.[13] The nudity and the *kāyotsarga-mudrā*, suggesting rigorous austerity, of the image were confined only to the Jinas. Another Jina image from Lohānīpur is assignable to the Śuṅga period or a slightly later. A terracotta Jina figure of c. third century B. C. is also reported from Ayodhyā.[14] The reference to the Kaliṅga Jina image in the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela (c. 1st cent. B.C.) is of special interest in this connection. The inscription mentions that the Kaliṅga-Jina, once taken away by the Nandarāja from Kaliṅga, was brought back by Khāravela.[15] Therefore, on the strength of the Hāthīgumphā inscription, Lohānīpur and Ayodhyā Jina figures, the antiquity of the Jina image may be pushed back at least to c. third century B. C.

The two early bronze images of Pārśvanātha of c. second-first century B. C. are in the collections of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay and Patna Museum.[16] These figures, provided respectively with the five and seven-hooded snake canopy, are rendered as sky-clad and standing in the *kāyotsarga-mudrā*.

Mathura was a stronghold of Jainism from the second-first century B. C. to about the 11th century A. D. The Jaina sculptures from Mathura are of special iconographic significance, because they exhibit different stages in the development of Jaina iconography. These include the *Āyāgapaṭas* (tablets of homage), independent Jina images, *Pratimā-sarvatobhadrikā*, Sarasvatī, Naigameṣī, narrative scenes form the lives of the Jina Ṛṣabhanātha and Mahāvīra[17] and *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* figures.[18] Of all these remains, the *Āyāgapaṭas* of second-first century B. C. merit special attention. These represent the transitional phase of Jaina iconography in which the worship of symbols together with the Jinas in human forms was in vogue. One snch example of c. first century B. C., bearing the figure of Pārśvanātha in the centre, is in the collection of State Museum, Lucknow (J 253).

The rendering of the Jina in the *dhyāna-mudrā* (seated cross-legged) and the representation of the *śrīvatsa* in the centre of the chest appear for the first time in the Śuṅga-Kuṣāṇa sculptures of Mathura.

The Gupta period was a milestone in the development of Jaina iconography, and some of the most significant iconographic features were introduced during the period, as for example, the distinguishing cognizances (*lāñchhana*) and the *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* figures. The Gupta Jaina sculptures are reported from several sites, like Mathura, Rājgir, Vidiśā, Varanasi, Chausā and Akoṭā. In this period, the images of Ṛṣabhanātha, Candraprabha, Puṣpadanta, Neminātha, Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra were carved. The first Śvetāmbara Jaina image, known from Akoṭā, was also carved in the Gupta pariod.[19]

The history of Jainism continued uninterrupted in the post-Gupta period in North India, but the Jaina literature and art thrived most vigorously during the 10th and the 12th century A. D. The period saw the building of a very large number of Jaina temples with exquisite sculptural carvings. Gujarat and Rajasthan were the strongholds of the Śvetāmbara sect while the vestiges yielded by other regions are affiliated mainly to the Digambara sect. The tradition of carving twenty-four *devakulikās* with the figures of the twenty-four Jinas therein was popular mainly at the Śvetāmbara sites. The Digambara Jina images show much more variety in iconographic details than Śvetāmbara, where the figures of Navagrahas, Bāhubalī, Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa with Neminātha, *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* pair, and few other goddesses, like Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī, in the *parikara* are carved. At the Śvetāmbara sites the mention of the names of the Jinas in the pedestal inscription was preferred to providing them with their respective cognizances, as is usually found in Digambara Jina images. The rendering of the narratives from the lives of the Jinas was popular only with the Śvetāmbaras.

At the Śvetāmbara Jaina sites the sixteen Mahāvidyās were accorded the most favoured position after the Jinas, while at the Digambara sites *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* pairs occupied that position. Of the sixteen Mahāvidyās, Rohiṇī, Vajrāṅkuśā, Vajraśṛṅkhalā, Apraticakrā, Acchuptā and Vairoṭyā were the most popular ones. The representation of Śāntidevī, Brahmaśānti *Yakṣa,* Jīvantasvāmī Mahāvīra, Gaṇeśa, the parents of the 24 Jinas, and some goddesses, who were not known in Jaina tradition, was confined mainly to the Śvetāmbara sites. Two of such goddesses explicitly bear the influence of Brāhmanic Śiva and Jaina Sarvānubhūti or Kubera. The figures of Sarasvatī, Aṣṭa-dikpālas, Navagrahas and Kṣetrapāla were popular in both the sects. The figures of Rohiṇī, Manovegā, Gaurī and Gāndhārī *Yakṣīs,* Garuḍa *Yakṣa,* Jaina tutelary couples and Rāma and Sītā occur only at the Digambara sites. There are also some images from the Digambara sites, Deogarh and Khajurāho, which were not known in the tradition. The rendering of *dvitīrthī* and *tritīrthī* Jina images and the representation of Sarasvatī and Bāhubalī in the *tritīrthī* Jina images, and *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* pairs with Bāhubalī and Ambikā are some such examples.

The figures of male deities in these sculptures are meagre in number compared to the female ones, which probably owes to the Tāntric influence. The Pārśvanātha Jaina temple (950-70 A. D.) at Khajurāho contains all along its facade the divine figures with their *śaktis* in *āliṅgana*-pose, which include Śiva, Viṣṇu, Brahmā, Rāma, Balarāma, Agni and Kubera. Such figures are against the accepted norms of Jaina tradition and were actually carved under the influence of Brahmanical temples at the site. All these divine figures, excepting Ambikā and a few Jinas, are somehow or the other related with the Brahmanical pantheon.

On the north and south *śikhara* of the Pārśvanātha temple, there are two sculptures showing amorous couples.[19a] The instances of erotic figures, datable between 10th and 12th century A. D., are also known from Deogarh (Doorway, Temple 18), Śāntinātha temple at Nārlāi (Pali, Rajasthan),[20] Ajitanātha temple at Tāraṅgā (Mehsana, Gujarat) and Neminātha temple at Kumbhāriā (Banaskantha, Gujarat). The presence of erotic figures at Jaina sites is gross violation of the Jaina tradition which does not conceive of any Jaina god along with his *śakti* in *āliṅgana*-pose. This was due to the Tāntric influence in Jainism during the early mediaeval times (c. 7th to 10th century A. D.). The Jaina *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa* (783 A. D.) makes the point more clear by referring to the construction of a Jina temple by a *śreṣṭhī* Kāmadatta, who, for the general attraction of the people also, caused the installation of the figures of Kāmadeva and Rati in the temple.[21] It also alludes to the worship of Rati and Kāmadeva along with the Jina images.[22] It may also be noted here that the Tāntric influence was accepted in Jainism with certain restraints. Overt eroticism was never so pronounced in Jaina literature and sculptural manifestations as was the case with Brahmanical and Buddhist religions, which is evident from the examples carved on the temples at Moḍherā, Khajurāho, Koṇārk, Bhubaneśvara, and many other places. The erotic figures from Jaina temples as compared to Brahmanical ones are neither so large in number nor so obscene in manifestations.

The Jaina pantheon was evolved by the end of the fifth century A. D. At this stage it mainly consisted of the twenty-four Jinas, *Yakṣas* and *Yakṣīs*, Vidyādevīs, Sarasvatī, Lakṣmī, Balarāma, Kṛṣṇa, Rāma Naigameṣī, Bāhubalī and other *śalākāpuruṣas*.[23] It may be noted here that only the names and some of the general features of the deities were finalized by this time, while their detailed iconographic features were finalized between eighth and 13th century A. D. The development of Jaina pantheon was more or less identical in both the sects[24] and the differences are noticed mainly in regard to their names and, at times, their iconographic features.

Jinas or Tīrthaṅkaras :

The Jinas or Tīrthaṅkaras, called *devādhideva* by Hemacandra, are the objects of highest veneration among both the sects of the Jainas. The list of the twenty-four Jinas was finalized sometime before the beginning of the Christian era. The earliest list occurs in the *Samavāyāṅga Sūtra, Bhagavatī Sūtra, Kalpasūtra* and *Paumacariyam*.[25] The concrete representation of the Jinas started in c. third century B.C. The *Kalpasūtra* describes at length only the lives of Ṛṣabhanātha, Neminātha, Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra who were the most popular among all the Jinas both in literature and art at all the times. As a natural corollary, the *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* pairs of these Jinas also enjoyed a very favoured position. Ajitanātha, Sambhavanātha, Supārśvanātha, Candraprabha, Śāntinātha and Munisuvrata happened to be the next favoured Jinas. The figures of the remaining Jinas are, however, very few in number.

Of all the Jinas, the iconographic feature of Pārśvanātha was finalised first. The seven-headed snake canopy was associated with Pārśvanātha in c. first century B. C. Thereafter in c. first century A. D. Ṛṣabhanātha was endowed with falling hair-locks, as is evident from the sculptures procured from Mathurā and Chausā. Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa joined Neminātha as his cousins in the Kuṣāṇa period, as is borne out by the Neminātha sculptures yielded by Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, Mathura. During the Kuṣāṇa period, the images of Sambhavanātha, Munisuvrata and Mahāvīra were also carved but they are identified on the basis of the pedestal inscriptions, bearing their respective names. Of the *aṣṭaprātihāryas*, only seven were finalized at Mathura by the end of Kuṣāṇa period; they are *siṁhāsana* (lion-throne), *prabhāmaṇḍala* (nimbus), *cāmaradhara* attendant, hovering *mālādhara (sura-puṣpavṛṣṭi)*, *chatra*, (parasol), *caitya*-tree and *divyadhvani* (divine music).

The rendering of the distinguishing emblems, *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* pairs and the *aṣṭaprātihāryas*[26] with the Jinas which marks a significant development in Jina iconography, appears first in the Gupta period. The Neminātha and Mahāvīra images respectively from Rājgir (Vaibhāra hill, Bihar) and Varanasi (now in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi—Acc. No. 161) are the earliest instances showing the distinguishing emblems.[27] The Ṛṣabhanātha image from Akoṭā is the earliest Jina image with *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* figures.[28] The representation of tiny Jina figures at throne-ends and in the *parikara* also started in the Gupta period. The *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* of Varāhamihira is the earliest text which mentions the iconographic features of the Jina images.[29]

The list of the distinguishing cognizances of the twenty-four Jinas was finalized in c. eighth-ninth century A. D., the earliest references to which are found in the *Kahāvalī*, *Pravacanasāroddhāra* (381-82) and the *Tiloyapaṇṇatti* (4.604-05). As for the cognizances of the Jinas,the Śvetāmbara and the Digambara traditions are in agreement with each other with a few exceptions as in those of Supārśvanātha, Śītalanātha, Anantanātha and Aranātha. The rendering of the *svastika* and snake emblems respectively with Supārśvanātha and Parśvanātha was rather a rare phenomenon in sculptures. However, the need to show the cognizances was not felt, probably due to the representation of five and seven-headed snake canopy with them.

The Jina images reached the final stage of iconographic development in c. ninth-tenth century A. D. The fully developed Jina images invariably contain distinguishing emblems, *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* pairs, *aṣṭaprātihāryas*, *dharmacakra* with worshippers, diminutive Jina figures and at times *navagrahas*, Vidyādevīs, elephants lustrating the Jinas and some other figures. The rendering of Śāntidevī with lotuses, and deers in the centre of the throne, bull-faced figures and some other figures playing on flute and *vīṇā* was confined only to the Śvetāmbara Jina images.[30]

The carvings of the narrative scenes from the lives of the Jinas occur mainly at the Śvetāmbara sites, namely Kumbhāriā, Mt. Ābu (Vimala Vasahī and Lūṇa Vasahī) and Osia. These instances, datable between 11th and 13th century A. D., deal chiefly with the *pañca-kalyāṇakas* (five chief events in the life of a Jina-*cyavana, janma, dīkṣā, kevala-jñāna* and *nirvāṇa)*; and some other important events in the lives of Ṛṣabhanātha, Śāntinātha, Munisuvrata, Neminātha, Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra. Of all these, the scene of fight between Bharata and Bāhubalī, the story of the previous life of Śāntinātha in which he generously offered the flesh of his entire body to save the life of a pigeon, the trial of strength between Kṛṣṇa and Neminātha and also the marriage of Neminātha and his consequent renunciation, the story of *Aśvāvabodha* and *Śakunikāvihāra* in the life of Munisuvrata and the previous births of Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra along with the *upasargas* (hindrances) faced by them during the course of their meditation are of special iconographic interest.

The Jina images from Bihar, Orissa and Bengal do not show certain traditional features, such as *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* pairs, two lions, suggesting *siṁhāsana, dharmacakra,* elephants, drum beating figures and sometimes *śrīvatsa* also. The tiny figures of the 23 or 24 Jinas in the *parikara* of the Jina images from Bengal are usually endowed with distinguishing emblems.

The *dvitīrthī* and *tritīrthī* Jina images were popular at the Digambara sites and a good number of such sculptures are found at Deogarh and Khajurāho. However, we do not find any reference to these images in the Jaina literature. These figures, datable between 9th and 12th century A. D., show either two or three Jinas standing on separate *siṁhāsanas* with their cognizances,*Yakṣa-Yakṣī* pairs and other usual *prātihāryas*. These suggest that all the Jinas were probably regarded as being of equal status and hence two or more Jinas are carved together with identical details.[31]

The four-fold Jina image, known as Jina *Caumukha* or *Pratimā-Sarvatobhadrikā,* is one of the earliest and most favourite manifestations of Jina images. The term *Pratimā-Sarvatobhadrikā* signifies that the image is auspicious on all the sides.[32] The carving of Jina *Caumukhī,* showing four Jina figures either seated or standing, started as early as in the first century A. D. and its earliest examples are procured from the Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā,Mathura.These images remained popular in all the regions in subsequent centuries also. Scholars generally believe that the conception of Jina *Caumukhī* was based on the early conception of Jina *Samavasaraṇa* and shows an advancement upon it.[33] But this view is not acceptable for the following reasons. The *Samavasaraṇa* is the congregation hall erected by the gods wherein every Jina delivers his first sermon after attaining *Kevala-Jñāna* (omniscience). It consists of three tiered circular walls topped by the figure of a seated Jina, facing east. The three images of the same Jina on the remaining sides were installed by the Vyantara gods to facilitate the worshippers to see their Master from all the sides. However, none of the early Jaina works refers to the installation of Jina images on the remaining three sides. Its first mention occurs only in the eighth-ninth century A. D. Moreover, in the Kuṣāṇa sculptures four different Jinas, always standing, are carved on four sides, as against the original conception of *Samavasaraṇa* showing a seated Jina on the top (east) along with his three images on the remaining sides.

Under the circumstance, it would not be appropriate to conclude that the Jina *Caumukhī* of the Kuṣāṇa period, showing four different Jinas on four sides, bears any influence of the conception of the *Samavasaraṇa*. It is rather difficult to find any traditional basis of the conception of the Jina *Caumukhī* from the Jaina works. On the other hand, we come across a number of such sculptures in contemporary and even early art which might have inspired the Jainas to carve Jina *Caumukhī*. It is not impossible that multi-faced Śiva-*liṅgas* and *Yakṣa* figures had some bearing upon the conception of Jina *Caumukhī*.[34] The conception of *Svastika*[35] and the Sarnath and Sāñchī lion-capitals is another possible source of inspiration in this regard.

We may divide the Jina *Caumukhī* images into two groups. The first group consists of the images in which the figures of the same Jina are carved on the four sides. In the second group, the figures refer to four different Jinas. The earliest Jina *Caumukhī* figures of the second group hail from Mathura and belong to Kuṣāṇa period, whereas the figures of the first group were carved in seventh-eighth century A.D. The figures of the first group are comparatively meagre in number and generally do not show the cognizances of the Jinas. The *Caumukhī* figures of the second group in most of the cases show the cognizances of only two,generally those of Ṛṣabhanātha and Pārśvanātha, of the four Jinas. It is indeed surprising that even at a later stage when the cognizances of all the Jinas were evolved, the rendering of the cognizances remanied confined only to the figures of Ṛṣabhanātha and Pārśvanātha. This might be explained as the continuation of the earlier tradition of the Kuṣāṇa Jina *Caumukhī* from Mathura wherein only these two Jinas are identifiable on account of falling hair-locks and seven-headed snake canopy. In some instances from the Digambara sites, spread over in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Bengal, the cognizances of some other Jinas are also represented; they are Ajitanātha, Sambhavanātha, Supārśvanātha, Neminātha, Śāntinātha and Mahāvīra. One of such examples, datable to c. eighth century A. D , shows the standing figures of Ṛṣabhanātha, Ajitanātha, Sambhavanātha and Abhinandana, the first four Jinas of the present *avasarpiṇī*, on the four sides. The Jinas are provided with their respective cognizances, namely, bull, elephant, horse and monkey. The figure,now preserved in the Archaeological Museum,Nalanda, was originally procured from the Vaibhāragiri (Rājgir, Bihar). In some of the examples from Deogarh and Vimala Vasahī, we also find the sculptural representation of the *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* pairs.[36]

Yakṣa-Yakṣī :

The early Jaina works like *Bhagavatī Sūtra, Tattvārtha Sūtra, Antagaḍadasāo* and *Paumacariyam* make frequent references to the *Yakṣa* worship. Of all the *Yakṣas*, Maṇibhadra and Pūrṇabhadra *Yakṣas* and Bahuputrikā *Yakṣī* appear to have been the favourite ones.It may be noted that the earliest *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* pair (Sarvānubhūti or Kubera and Ambikā) associated with the Jina was evolved from the ancient concept of Maṇibhadra-Pūrṇabhadra *Yakṣas* and Bahuputrikā *Yakṣī*.[37] The *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* pair conceived as the *Śāsanadevatā*, makes its first appearance in art in c. sixth century A. D., the earliest instances in which the pair is sometimes represented with the Jinas and sometimes separately, are known from Akoṭā in Gujarat.[38]

The Jaina works from c. sixth to the ninth century A.D. mention only some of the iconographic features of Yakṣarāja (Sarvānubhūti) and Dharaṇendra *Yakṣas* and Cakreśvarī, Ambikā and Padmāvatī *Yakṣīs*. The list of the twenty-four *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* pairs was finalized in about eighth-ninth century A.D. as found in the *Kahāvalī*, *Tiloyapaṇṇatti* (4.934-39) and *Pravacanasāroddhāra* (375-78), while their independent iconographic forms were standardized in c.11th-12th century A.D. as mentioned in the *Nirvāṇakalikā, Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra, Pratiṣṭhāsārasaṁgraha, Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra,* *Pratiṣṭhātilakam*, *Ācāradinakara* and a number of other texts. However, we find much difference between the Śvetāmbara and the Digambara traditions as to the names and other iconographic features of the *Yakṣas* and *Yakṣīs*.

The names of Mātaṅga, Yakṣeśvara and Īśvara *Yakṣas* and Naradattā, Mānavī, Acyutā and some other *Yakṣīs* occur with more than one Jina in both the traditions. Bhṛkuṭi has been invoked both as *Yakṣa* and *Yakṣī*. The names and the iconographic features of the majority of the *Yakṣas* and *Yakṣīs* bear the influence of the Brahmanical[39] and Buddhist[40] gods and goddesses. The Jainas seem to have adopted either the names or the distinct iconographic features, sometimes both, in such cases.

The gods and goddesses borrowed from Brāhmaṇa pantheon may be put into three groups. The first group consists of the *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* pairs made up of minor divinites who are not known to have been related with each other before their adoption in Jainism. The second group comprises the pairs who are related with each other, such as Īśvara and Gaurī, respectively the *Yakṣa* and *Yakṣī* of Śreyāṁśanātha, who are none else but Śiva and his *śakti*. The third group includes *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* pairs, such as Gomukha and Cakreśvarī, respectively the *Yakṣa* and *Yakṣī* of Ṛṣabhanātha who represent two different well known sects. Gomukha and Cakreśvarī are Śiva and Vaiṣṇavī, the two principal deities of Śaiva gnd Vaiṣṇava sects.

The earliest *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* pair carved in Jaina sculpture was Sarvānubhūti and Ambikā.[41] Next come the figures of Dharaṇendra and Padmāvatī, the *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* pair of Pārśvanātha. The other *Yakṣas* and *Yakṣīs* were carved in c. 10th century onwards. In the sculptures from c. sixth to the ninth century A. D. Ṛṣabhanātha, Śāntinātha, Neminātha, Pārśvanātha, Mahāvīra and some other Jinas are accompanied by the single *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* pair, Sarvānubhūti and Ambikā. It was only in c. 10th century A.D. onwards that separate *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* pairs were carved with the above Jinas, the examples of which are known mainly from Deogarh, Gyāraspur, Khajurāho and a few other places. In such sculptures, Ṛṣabhanātha, Neminātha and Pārśvanātha are accompanied respectively by the traditional *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* pairs, Gomukha—Cakreśvarī, Sarvānubhūti-Ambikā, and Dharaṇendra-Padmāvatī, while the *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* pairs accompanying Śāntinātha and Mahāvīra do not have any traditional sanctions.

The rendering of the *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* figures with the Jinas became a regular feature after ninth century A. D. It may be noted here that in independent sculptures the depiction of the *Yakṣīs* was more popular than their male counterparts. We have come across three instances of collective renderings of the twenty-four *Yakṣīs*[42] but the representation of the twenty-four *Yakṣas* has not been reported from anywhere so far. The fact is suggestive of comparatively favoured position enjoyed by the *Yakṣīs*.

Sarvānubhūti and Ambikā, the most favoured *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* pair at the Śvetāmbara sites, were carved with almost all the Jinas. However, in a few instances from the Śvetāmbara sites, the independent *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* pairs with Ṛṣabhanātha and Pārśvanātha were also carved. Gomukha-Cakreśvarī, Sarvānubhūti-Ambikā and Dharaṇendra-Padmāvatī enjoyed the most favoured position in Digambara sculptures. It is surprising to note that Jaina sites spread over Bihar, Orissa and Bengal have yielded only a few *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* figures. Barring the collective figures of the *Yakṣīs* carved in the Navamuni and Bārabhujī caves, we have very few instances of the separate sculptures of Cakreśvarī, Ambikā and Padmāvatī *Yakṣīs*.

Mahāvidyā :

After the Jinas and their *Śāsanadevatās*, Mahāvidyās enjoyed the highest veneration among both the sects.[43] The early Jaina works like *Sthānāṅga Sūtra*, *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, *Nāyādhammakahāo* and *Paumacariyam* and also some later works like *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa*, *Vasudevahiṇḍī* and *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra* make ample references to the Vidyās. A list of 16 Mahāvidyās was prepared in about the ninth century A. D. The details pertaining to the iconography of Jaina Mahāvidyās are discussed in Ch. Vth of this book.

Foot-notes

(1) For detailed survey consult, Tiwari, Maruti Nandan Prasad, *Jaina Pratimā-vijñāna*, Varanasi, 1981, pp. 3-10.

(2) By Northern India we mean the entire region north of the Vindhyas, including Gujarat in the west and Orissa in the east.

(3) For details consult, Desai, P. B., *Jainism in South India and Some Jaina Epigraphs*, Sholapur, 1957.

(4) Chandragupta Maurya, Samprati, Khāravela, Nāgabhaṭa II and Kumārapāla Chaulukya.

(5) *Epigraphia Indica*,Vol. I, Inscriptions, 1,2,7,21,29; Vol. II, Inscriptions 5, 16, 18, 39, pp. 237-40; Nahar, P. C., *Jaina Inscriptions*, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1918, pp. 192-94, 233 (Inscription 898), Vijaya Murti (Ed.), *Jaina Śilālekha Saṁgraha*, Pt. III, Bombay, 1957 p. 108.

(6) Unnithan, N. G., 'Relics of Jainism—Ālatūr,' *Jour. Indian History*, Vol. XLIV, Pt. I, No. 130, April 1966, p. 542.

(7) Consult, Marshall, John, *Mohen-jo-Dāro and the Indus Civilization*, Vol. I, London, 1931, Pl. XII, Figs. 13, 14, 18, 19, 22, p. 45, Pl. X; Chanda, R. P., 'Sindh Five thousand years Ago', *Modern Review*, Vol. LII, No. 2, Aug. 1932, pp. 151-60.

(8) Shah, U. P., 'Beginnings of Jaina Iconography', *Bulletin Museums and Archaeology in U. P.*, No. 9, June 1972, p. 2.

(9) For details consult, Shah, U. P., 'A Unique Jaina Image of Jīvantasvāmī', *Jour. Oriental Institute,* Vol. I, No. 1, Sept. 1951 (1952), pp. 72-79, Shah, 'Sidelights on the life-time sandal-wood Image of Mahāvīra', *Jour. Oriental Institute,* Vol. I, No. 4, June 1952, pp. 358-68.

(10) Shah, U. P., *Akoṭā Bronzes,* Bombay, 1959, pp. 26-28, Pl. 9 a, b, 12 a.

(11) Jain, J. C., *Life in Ancient India as Depicted in Jain Canons,* Bombay, 1947, pp. 252, 300, 325. The earliest literary reference is found in the *Vasudevahiṇḍī* (c. 610 A.D.)

(12) *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra* 10.11.379-80.

(13) Jayaswal, K.P., 'Jaina Image of Maurya Period', *Jour. Bihur, Orissa Res. Society,* Vol. XXIII, Pt I, 1937, pp. 130-32.

(14) The Ayodhyā excavation has yielded a terracotta figure of c. third century B.C. which is taken to be the earliest Jaina terracotta figure so far excavated in India. Consult, Lal, B.B. and Srivastava, S.K., 'Perhaps the Earliest Jaina Terracotta so far excavated in India', *Madhu* (Recent Researches in Indian Archaeology and Art History), pp. 329-31.

(15) Sircar, D.C., *Select Inscriptions,* Vol. I, Calcutta, 1965, pp. 213-21.

(16) Consult, Shah, U.P., *Studies in Jaina Art,* Varanasi, 1955, pp. 8-9; Prasad, H.K., 'Jaina Bronzes in the Patna Museum', *Mahavira Jaina Vidyalaya Golden Jubilee Vol.,* Bombay, 1968, pp. 275-80. The image in the Patna Museum is procured from Chausā in Bhojpur district of Bihar.

(17) These narrative panels of the Kuṣāṇa period are on display in the State Museum, Lucknow (Acc. Nos. J626, J354). Consult, Bühler, G., 'Specimens of Jaina Sculptures from Mathura', *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. II, pp. 314-18; *Paumacariyam* 3.122-26.

(18) For details consult, Tiwari, Maruti Nandan Prasad, *op. cit.,* pp. 46-49.

(19) *Ibid.,* pp. 49-52.

(19-A) Consult, Tripathi, L. K., 'The Erotic Sculptures of Khajurāho and their Probable Explanation', *Bhāratī,* No.3, 1959-60, pp. 82-104.

(20) There are about 50 erotic couples showing in some cases shaven-headed Jaina munis engaged in different sexul activity.

(21) Atraiva Kāmadevasya Rateśca Pratimāṁvyadhāt /
Jināgāre samastāyāḥ prajāyāḥ kāutukāya saḥ //

Harivaṁśa Purāṇa 29.2

(22) *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa* 29.1-10.

(23) However, Gaṇeśa Navagrahas, Kṣetrapāla, Brahmaśānti and Kaparddi *Yakṣas,* 64 Yoginis, Śāntidevī and the parents of the Jinas were included after c. fifth century A.D.

(24) For details, consult, Tiwari, Maruti Nandan Prasad, *op cit.*, pp. 29-44 : The story of the transfer of embryo of Mahāvīra, the image of Jīvantasvāmī Mahāvīra and reference to Mallinātha as female Tīrthaṅkara are not mentioned in the Digambara works.

(25) *Samavāyāṅga Sūtra* 157; *Kalpasūtra* 2, 184-203; *Paumacariyam* 1.*1*-7.

(26) The *aṣṭa-mahā-prātihāryas*—eight chief accompanying attendants—are the *Aśoka* tree, the *deva-dundubhi*, *sura-puṣpavṛṣṭi* (scattering of flowers by gods), the *trichatra* (triple umberella), the *cāmara* (fly-whisks), *siṁhāsana* (lion-throne), the *divya-dhvani* (divine music) and the *bhāmaṇḍala* (halo)—See, *Paumacariyam* 2. 35-36, *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa* 3.31-38; *Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra* 1.66-77.

(27) Chanda, R.P. ‘Jaina Remains at Rajgir’, *Archaeological Survey of India*, *Annual Report*, 1925-26, pp. 125-26; Tiwari, Maruti Nandan Prasad, ‘An Unpublished Jina Image in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi’, *Vishveshvaranand Indological Jour.*, Vol. XIII, Nos. 1-2, March-Sept. 1975, pp. 373-75.

(28) Shah, U.P., *Akoṭā Bronzes*, Bombay, 1959, pp. 28-29.

(29) Ājānulambabāhuḥ śrīvatsāṅkaḥ praśāntamūrtiśca /
digvāsāstaruṇo rūpavāṁśca kāryorhatāṁ devaḥ //

Bṛhatsaṁhitā 58.45

Also see, *Mānasāra* 55.46, 71-95.

(30) *Vāstuvidyā—Jinaparikaralakṣaṇa* 22. 10-12, 33-39.

(31) For details consult, Tiwari, Maruti Nandan Prasad, *Jaina Pratimāvijñāna*, pp. 144-47.

(32) *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, pp. 202-03, 210; Bhattacharya, B.C., *The Jaina Iconography*, Lahore, 1939, p. 48.

(33) Shah, U.P., *Studies in Jaina Art*, pp. 94-95; De, Sudhin, ‘Caumukha a Symbolic Jaina Art’, *Jain Journal*, Vol. VI, No.1, July 1971, p.27.

(34) Banerjea, J.N., *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, Clacutta, 1956, p.461; Shukla, D.N., *Pratimāvijñāna*, Lucknow, 1956, p. 315; Agrawala, P.K., ‘The Triple Yakṣa Statue from Rājghāṭ’, *Ghavī*, Vol. I, Varanasi, 1971, pp. 340-42; Pandey, Deena Bandhu, *Notes on Indian Iconogrpahy*, Varanasi, 1978, pp. 15-21.

(35) Agrawala, V.S., *Indian Art*, Varanasi, 1965, pp. 49-50. 232.

(36) For Details consult, Tiwari, Maruti Nandan Prasad, ‘Sarvatobhadrikā Jina Mūrtiyāñ yā Jina-Caumukhī’, *Sambodhi*, Vol. VIII, Nos. 1-4, April 79-Jan., ‘80, pp. 1-7.

(37) Shah, U.P., 'Yakṣa Worship in Early Jaina Literature', *Jour. Oriental Institute*, Vol. III, No. 1, Sept. 1953, pp. 61-62.

(38) Shah, U. P., *Akoṭā Bronzes*, pp. 28-29, Shah, U. P., 'Introduction of Śāsanadevatās in Jaina Worship', *Proceedings & Trans. of Oriental Conference*, 20th Session, Bhubaneswar, Oct. 1959, Poona, 1961, pp. 141-52.

(39) Viṣṇu, Śiva, Brahmā, Indra, Skanda Kārttikeya, Kālī, Gaurī, Cāmuṇḍā Vaiṣṇavī etc., See, Banerjea, J.N., *op.cit.*, pp. 561-63.

(40) Tārā, Vajraśṛṅkhalā, Vajratārā, Vajrāṅkuśī etc.-See, Bhattacharyya, Benoytosh, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*, Calcutta, 1968, pp.56, 235, 240, 242, 297.

(41) Shah, U.P., *Akoṭā Bronzes*, pp. 28-31.

(42) These instances come from Deogarh (Temple 12, Uttar Pradesh, 862 A.D.), Patiyāna-dāi (Ambikā image, Madhya Pradesh, 11th century A.D.) and Bārabhujī cave (Khaṇḍagiri, Puri, Orissa, 11th-12th century A.D.). For details consult, Tiwari, Maruti Nandan Prasad, *Jaina Pratimāvijñāna*, pp. 160-62.

(43) Shah, U.P., 'Iconography of the Sixteen Jaina Mahāvidyās' *Jour. Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. XV, 1947, pp. 114-77.

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II

JINAS OR TĪRTHAṄKARAS

ICONOGRAPHIC NOTES ON THE JINA IMAGES OF KHAJURĀHO WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE MAHĀVĪRA IMAGES

Khajurāho, in the Chhatarpur district of Madhya Pradesh, has yielded profuse Brahmanical and Jaina vestiges of iconographic and religious interest which vouch for the artistic dexterity and craving, and also the material affluence of the artists of Khajurāho. There are three old Jaina temples[1] at Khajurāho, namely, the Pārśvanātha (c.950-70), the Ghaṇṭāi (late 10th century)[2] and the Ādinātha (later half of the 11th century), all of them being dedicated to the first Jina Ṛṣabhanātha who was accorded the most favoured position at the site.[3] The entire group of the Jaina sculptures at Khajurāho, spread over c. 950 to the 12th century, is the product exclusively of the Digambara Jaina sect. The Digambara affiliation of the Jaina temples of Khajurāho, and so also the iconographic remains, is indicated by the fact that the Jinas are rendered as sky-clad. This is further evidenced by the occurrence of the sixteen auspicious dreams at the site in place of the fourteen as usual with the Śvetāmbaras.[4]

Khajurāho has yielded over four hundred various Jaina images excluding those represented on the doorways and fragmentary door-lintels. Of these, about two hundred images represent the Jinas in two customary, postures, namely. the *dhyāna-mudrā* and the *kāyotsarga-mudrā*, the former being of more frequent occurrence. The Jinas have been rendered either in the form of independent images or in the *dvitīrthī*, *tritīrthī* and the *caumukhī* images.

The Jina images of Khajurāho represent a fully developed stage of the Jina iconography[5] (figs. 22, 23). They are carved with the full cortége of their accessory symbols including the *aṣṭaprātihāryas*,[6] the *lāñchanas* (the cognizances), the *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* pairs, and the *śrīvatsa*. However, in some cases the figures of the *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* pairs are conspicuous by their absence. We may note here that we could find the images of only thirteen out of the twenty-four Jinas in Khajurāho collections; they are Ṛṣabhanātha, Ajitanātha, Sambhavanātha, Abhinandana, Sumatinātha, Padmaprabha, Supārśvanātha. Candraprabha, Śāntinātha, Munisuvrata, Neminātha, Prāśvanātha and Mahavīra. Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra, of whom eleven and nine images are available, were relatively less favoured than Ṛṣabhanātha, represented as the Jina is by about sixty images.[7] All other Jinas, barring Abhinandana, Sumatinātha, Padmaprabha, Candraprabha and Munisuvrata who have been represented by one sculpture each, are represented by two to six images.

The *Yakṣa* and *Yakṣī* figures on the images of Ajitanātha, Supārśvanātha, Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra, the second, seventh, 23rd and the 24th Jinas respectively, are sometimes dropped, while at few others they are substituted by two tiny Jina figures. The representation of the twenty-four *Śāsanadevatās* is unknown in Khajurāho. However, the standardized and distinctive forms of the three *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* pairs, namely, Gomukha and Cakreśvarī, Kubera (or Sarvānubhūti) and Ambikā, and Dharaṇendra and Padmāvatī, the *Śāsanadevatās* respectivaly of Ṛṣabhanātha, Neminātha (22nd Jina) and Pārśvanātha, were known to the Khajurāho sculptors. The representation of these three pairs even does not correspond fully with any of the available iconographic prescriptions.

Mahāvīra, the twenty-fourth Jina, is represented by nine images at Khajurāho. All these images are fashioned in the buff-coloured sandstone and vary from 29" × 24" to 57" × 33" in dimensions. One of the Mahāvīra images at Khajurāho bears an inscription dated *Saṁvat* 1149 (= 1092).[8] Of the remaining eight, the five images are earlier and the rest three are later than the dated sculpture. The whole group of Mahāvīra images are assignable between c. 950 and 1150. Mahāvīra is represented in the fully developed iconographic tradition with the lion cognizance. He is attended upon by Mātaṅga *Yakṣa* and Siddhāyikā *Yakṣī*.[9] The Digambara texts visualize Mātaṅga as two-armed, bearing a *dharmacakra* on his forehead and riding on an elephant. He holds his right hand in the *varada-mudrā* and carries a citron (*mātuliṅga*) in the left hand. Siddhāyikā is also conceived as two-armed. She shows the *varada-mudrā (or abhaya-mudrā)* and a manuscript in her hands. Her mount is lion.

In the earlier Mahāvīra images coming from the Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, Mathura and belonging to the Kuṣāṇa period, the aforesaid iconographic characteristics are absent, they are identifiable only with the help of their inscriptions wherein the image is labelled as that of 'Vardhamāna'. The first representation of a Jina with cognizance occurs in the Gupta period at Rājgir (Vaibhāra hill, Bihar).[10] The earliest image of Mahāvīra with cognizance also dates back to the Gupta period. The image, obtained from Varanasi, is on display in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Varanasi (Acc. No. 161). Although the *Tiloyapaṇṇatti* and the *Kahāvalī*, datable to the eighth-ninth century A.D., make references to the 24 *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* pairs, the *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* couples associated with the Jinas became popular in art only after the ninth century. A.D.[11] An exception to this is formed by Kubera, also known as Sarvānubhūti, and Ambikā who were introduced both in art and literature in the sixth century A. D.[12]

The images of Mahāvīra at Khajurāho exhibit a uniformity of style with regard to their execution and iconographic details, this being the case with all other Jina images of Khajurāho and elsewhere. In eight cases Mahāvīra is represented sitting in *dhyāna-mudrā* on an ornate cushion decoretee with lozenges and floral design, and in one case, however, he stands in the *kāyotsarga-mudrā*. The ornate cushion in each case is placed on a pedestal borne by round pilasters carved at two extremities. In four examples the covering cloth is shown hanging on the front, in each case bearing a *kīrtimukha* from whose open mouth are suspended festoons. In the centre of the pedestal is depicted a *dharmacakra* flanked by two kneeling worshippers with hands folded in supplication. At two ends of the throne are sculptured two lions, suggesting *siṁhāsana*, standing or sitting with their backs and faces turned towards each other, in one case their faces are turned towards the front. The Jina is attended on either side by a standing male *cāmaradhara* wearing rich jewellery with the inner hand carrying a flywhisk held above the shoulder and the outer hand resting on the thigh. Above the shoulder of Mahāvīra on each flank is rendered an elephant with riders over which there appears a pair of hovering. *mālādharas*. A circular nimbus is carved behind the head of the *mūlanāyaka*, except in two instances where it is absent. The nimbus is usually decorated with lotus, blossom circlets, beaded bands, stellate cut band and notched border. The hairs of all the Mahāvīra figures, barring one example, have been arranged in curls with the protuberance (*uṣṇīṣa*). Above the head of Mahāvīra, in every case, is carved a series of three umbrellas (*chatra-trayī*) surmounted by a drum being beaten by a prostrate figure.

A close study of these images also reveals important points of difference, besides the aforesaid common features, which pertain to the representation of (a) the lion cognizance, (b) the attendant *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* figures, and (c) the tiny Jina and other accessory figures. For a detailed and comparative study the Mahāvīra images at Khajurāho may be divided into two groups; the first group consisting of images which do not show *Yakṣa* and *Yakṣī* figures and the second group comprising the images which have them. The images of the first group seem to be earlier than those of the second, though an earliest image of Mahāvīra in the Pārśvanātha temple, perhaps the oldest of all the Mahāvīra images at the site, shows the figures of his *Yakṣa* and *Yakṣī*. In conformity with the tradition the *Yakṣa* and *Yakṣī* figures are carved respectively at the right and left extremities of the thrones.[13]

Mahāvīra Images Without The Yakṣa-Yakṣī Figures :

There are three images which fall under this category. Of them, two are built into the left hand modern wall of the Śāntinātha Temple, labelled as Temple No. 1. In the first of these examples, Mahāvīra is sitting on a double petalled lotus placed on an ornate cushion. In the centre of the pedestal is carved the *dharmacakra* and a peeping out lion head, meant for the cognizance of the Jina. Above the flywhisk-bearers, there appears, on either side, a seated Jina. The other image, seen below the first, corresponds to the preceding figure in details. Here the two miniature Jina figures are conspicuous by their absence. The third image represents skyclad Mahāvīra as standing on a lotus pedestal in the *kāyotsarga-mudrā*. The image is enshrined in the Modern Temple No. 31. Here also the peeping out lion is carved as cognizance but in addition to the head, the forelegs are also shown. At the left top corner there stands a Jina. Beside the *caurī*-bearer on the left side are sculptured two female figures, one above the other.

It is significant to note here that the covering cloth, an invariable feature of the Jina images at Khajurāho and elsewhere, has not been carved in any of these three sculptures. The rendering of cloth has been dropped probably because it would have covered the figures of the peeping lion, the cognizance of Mahāvīra. All the three images of the group may tentatively be placed prior to mid 11th century A. D. on the basis of both the style and iconography, a date suggested by the absence of the *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* figures which were not very common until the middle of the eleventh century A. D. and less formal stylization.

Mahāvīra Images With The Yakṣa-Yakṣī Figures :

The first image is carved on the southern facade of the *garbhagṛha* of the Pārśvanātha Temple. It is perhaps the oldest image of Mahāvīra at Khajurāho. The cognizance of Mahāvīra is shown as peeping out from the throne and hence the covering cloth is absent here. Beside the flywhisk bearers there stand two Jinas. The figures of the two-armed *Yakṣa* and *Yakṣī* are seated in *lalitāsana*. The *Yakṣa* holds a fruit in each of his two hands.[14] The *Yakṣī* carries a fruit in the left hand while the right one is held in the *abhaya-mudrā*. It may be noted here that all other eight Jina figures on the exterior walls of the *garbhagṛha* of the Pārśvanātha Temple also contain the *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* figures which exhibit almost the identical iconographic features as compared to the *Yakṣa-Yaksī* figures of the above Mahāvīra image. However, in some cases fruit has been replaced by a lotus. The similarity in the rendering of the iconographic features of the *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* figures of different Jinas, thus suggests that the distinctive iconographic forms of different *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* couples were not yet settled at the site.

The second Mahāvīra image is preserved in the Open Air Museum, Khajurāho (No. K 38). The cognizance is carved on the right side of the *dharmacakra*. The two-armed *Yakṣī* in *lalita*-pose shows the *abhaya-mudrā* with her right hand and the corresponding left bears an indistinct object. However, the *Yakṣa* figure is hidden under the plaster. Over the *caurī*-bearers there appear diminutive figures of two seated Jinas. The top *parikara* of the image is badly damaged. The image may be assigned to c. 11th century A. D.

The third image, enshrined in the Modern Temple No.2, bears an inscription dated *Saṁvat* 1149 (1092). Here the cognizance of Mahāvīra is carved in front of the cushion. Below the cushion of Mahāvīra is carved, in a miniature shrine, a standing figure of four-armed goddess showing *varada-mudrā*, a lotus, a manuscript, and a water-vessel.[15] The goddess may be identified with Śāntidevī (or Ādiśakti) who is believed to have the function of improving the origination of the Jaina *Saṅgha*.[16] At each top corner of the back slab there appears a standing Jina. The four-armed

Yakṣa and *Yakṣī* are seated in *lalita* pose. The *Yakṣa* bears a purse, a *śūla*, a lotus (?) and a staff. The *vāhana*, carved below, appears to be a lion (?), in place of an elephant as envisaged by the tradition. The *Yakṣī* with a lion mount, carved below her feet, shows a fruit, a disc, a lotus and a conch.

The fourth image is sheltered in a niche of the exterior back wall of the Modern Temple No.21 (K 28/1).Above the *dharmacakra* is carved the lion emblem of Mahāvīra as peeping out. The covering cloth is absent. On either side of the *trichatra* is sculptured a single garland-bearing celestial being. Above these figures there also appear the two usual pairs of flying *mālādharas*. The hair of Mahāvīra with a high headdress shows five rising rows of curls. Close to the *cāmaradhara* figures there stand miniature figures of four standing Jinas. The throne-back ends are ornamented with the *gaja-vyāla-makara* trio. The four-armed *Yakṣī*, riding a lion and sitting in *lalitāsana*, holds the *varada-mudrā*, a sword, a disc and a fruit in her hands. The *Yakṣa* stands in *tribhaṅga* and possesses two arms. He carries a *śakti* in his right hand while the left hanging hand is engaged in touching the horn of his mount, ram, standing nearby.

The fifth image, much mutilated, is preserved in the Open Air Museum, Khajurāho (No. K *17*). Below the hanging covering cloth of the throne is carved a peeping lion, the cognizance of Mahāvīra. Beside the flywhisk-bearers there stand two female figures. At each edge of the image there appear five Jina figures. Above these Jina figures on the right side there again appear two seated Jinas. However, the Jina figures of the corresponding left side have been broken away. The four-armed *Yakṣa* (left) and *Yakṣī* (right) figures are seated in *lalita* pose. The *Yakṣa* bears a mace, an indistinct object, a lotus and a purse. The *vāhana* standing on his left appears to be a lion. The *Yakṣī* rides a lion and shows in her surviving hands a ring (disc), a lotus and a conch.

The sixth image is exhibited in the Archaeological Museum, Khajurāho (Acc. No. 1731). The miniature figure of lion cognizance, standing in front, is carved beneath the wheel. The two-armed *Yakṣa* and *Yakṣī* are seated in *lalita* pose. The *Yakṣa* holds a purse in his left hand while the right hand is damaged. The *Yakṣī* bears a lotus (?) in her left hand while the right is held in the *abhaya-mudrā*. Above the *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* figures, on either edge, there stands a two-armed female figure showing a long-stalked lotus in the inner hand while the outer hand is resting on thigh. On the sides of Mahāvīra have been carved six Jina figures. At left top corner of the image is carved a small seated Jina, the Jina of the corresponding right corner has been lost. The throne-back ends are decked with the *gaja-vyāla-makara* trio surmounted by a warrior in act of subduing the animal.

The increase in the number of the tiny Jina figures on the *parikara*, the introduction of the throne-frame animals,[17] and more stylization in the rendering of the forms-these all suggest for the above discussed three sculptures a date of the 12th century A. D.

Certain conclusions can now be drawn from the data concerning the iconographic peculiarities of the representations of Mahāvīra, we noticed. As to the rendering of the lion cognizance, it may be said that the sculptors here have not always stuck to the usual convention, but tried to introduce variety as revealed in the six sculptures. The lion there has been featured as peeping out from the throne instead of showing profilewise. We may note here that such a change is confined only to the Mahāvīra images, and all other images of the preceding Jinas, and the three other Mahāvīra images, show their respective cognizances as usual either below the cushion or somewhere near the *dharmacakra*. However, the instances of the similar representation of the cognizance of Mahāvīra are also known from other sites and one such instance, in metal, datable to the late ninth century A. D. is preserved in the Haridas Swali Collection, Bombay.[18]

Somewhat undecided representation of the small Jina and other accessory figures associated with the main figure in such images suggests that they were rather meant for filling up the space around the principal figure. It may be noted that the number of the accessory figures is found gradually increasing with the advance in time.

Regarding the figures of the *Śāsanadevatās* of Mahāvīra, it may be noted that their iconographic form could never be standardized at Khajurāho. The *Yakṣī* of Mahāvīra was represented in two varieties, namely, two-armed and four-armed. In the two-armed representation[19], exemplified by three figures, she holds either a fruit or a lotus in her one hand while the other hand is always shown in the *abhaya-mudrā*. It may be remarked here that the iconographic features of the *Yakṣī* do not conform to any of the available Digambara *dhyānas*. In her four-armed variety, not known from the available Digambara texts, she always carries a disc, which has been the chief distinguishing symbol of Cakreśvarī, the *Yakṣī* of Ṛṣabhanātha. In two examples she also holds a conch, which is again a symbol invariably associated with the *Yakṣī* Cakreśvarī.[20] The other two arms of the *Yakṣī* show any one of the following two sets of symbols: a lotus and a fruit; or, the *varada-mudrā* and a fruit. From the study of all the four-armed figures of *Yakṣī*, it is obvious that the artist, instead of following the more usually encountered convention, has at Khajurāho evolved a new form of the *Yakṣī* bearing definite influences of a very popular Jaina *Yakṣī* Cakreśvarī. The only feature which tentatively hints the identification of these figures with *Yakṣī* Siddhāyikā is her mount lion, which, however, in the absence of the customary attributes receives no real support. Alternatively, by way of speculation it may be suggested that the feature might have been derived from the cognizance of her Master.

The complete departure from the textual injunctions can similarly be marked out in connection with the representations of the *Yakṣa* also. Barring two examples,[21] in all other figures the *Yakṣa* carries a mongoose-skin-purse *(nakulaka)*, which has been the chief distinguishing symbol of Kubera or Sarvānubhūti, the

Yakṣa of Neminātha. Among the male divinities Kubera or Sarvānubhūti was accorded a very high position at Khajurāho which is evidenced by the fact that figures of the *Yakṣas* of almost all the Jinas, except Dharaṇendra and sometimes Gomukha, show invariably his purse symbol. In three instances, however, the *vāhana* of the *Yakṣa* is shown but that too is either a lion or a ram, and not traditionally known elephant. The mount lion in this case too may be said to have been derived from the cognizance of his Master.

Thus we may conclude that the standardized forms of the *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* pair of Mahāvīra was not arrived at Khajurāho. Moreover, they reflect influences of the iconographic representation of Kubera and Cakreśvarī typical of the site of Khajurāho.

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Foot-notes

(1) Besides the old temples, there are also 32 new Jaina temples at the site. The new Jaina temples incorporate enormous old Jaina images belonging to the Chandella period.

(2) Now only its *ardhamaṇḍapa* and *mahāmaṇḍapa* being extant.

(3) Ṛṣabhanātha is represented by about sixty images.

(4) These auspicious dreams were seen by the respective mothers of all the Jinas soon after the origination of their embryo.

(5) For details consult, *Pratiṣṭhāsārasaṁgraha* 4.1-4, 5. 82-83; *Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra* 1.62, 76-77; *Mānasāra* 55.36-42.

(6) The eight chief attendant attributes are: *aśoka* tree, scattering of flowers by gods, divine music, *cāmara, siṁhāsana, bhāmaṇḍala,* heavenly drum beating and *chatratrayī*.

See, *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa* 3.31-38; *Pratiṣṭhāsārasaṁgraha* 5.82-83, *Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra* 1.76-77.

(7) The sculptural data from Mathurā (Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā) and Deogarh (Lalitpur) in U.P. and Akoṭā (Baroda) in Gujarat also reinforce the same proposition.

(8) The image is enshrined in the Modern Temple No.2.

(9) *Pratiṣṭhāsārasaṁgraha* 5.72-74; *Pratṣṭhāsāroddhāra* 3.152, 178; *Pratiṣṭhātilakam* 7.24, p. 338, 348.

(10) Consult, Chanda, Ramaprasad, 'Jaina Remains at Rājgir', *Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India*, 1925-26, pp. 125-26.

(11) The detailed iconography of the different *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* pairs was prepared only in the 11th-12th century A.D. The earliest works treating of the individual iconography of the 24 *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* pairs are the *Nirvāṇakalikā*, the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākapuruṣ acaritra* and *Pratiṣṭhāsārasaṁgraha*.

(12) Consult, Shah, U.P., 'Beginnings of Jaina Iconography' *Bull. of Museums and Archaeology in U. P.*, No. 9, June 1972, p. 12.

(13) *Pratiṣṭhāsārasaṁgraha* 5.82-83; *Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra* 1.77.

(14) However, the object of the left hand is not much clear.

(15) The attributes of the deities are always reckoned clockwise starting from the lower right hand.

(16) Consult, B. C. Bhattacharya, *The Jaina Iconography*, Lahore, 1939, p. 183; *Vāstuvidyā*—Jinaparikara Lakṣaṇa 22. 10.

It is to be noted here that the rendering of the figures of Śāntidevī in the centre of the throne of the Jina images was very much popular at the Śvetāmbara Jaina sites. The instances of the representation of Śāntidevī at the Digambara Jaina sites are very few. However, at Khajurāho the author could find only three such instances (Modern Temple Nos. 2, 5 and 28).

(17) The throne-frame animals are the *gajo-vyāla-makara*-trio. This feature was probably introduced sometime in the 12th century A.D.

(18) Shah, U. P., 'Jaina Bronzes in Haridas Swali's Collection', *Bull. Prince of Wales Mus.*, No. 9, 1964-66, pp. 47-49.

(19) The two-armed variety was an earlier form which remained popular till 12th century A.D.

(20) However, in one example, preserved in the Temple No. 21 (K. 28/1), the conch has been replaced by a sword.

(21) These figures are in the Pārśvanātha Temple, and the Modern Temple No. 21 (K. 28/1).

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JINA IMAGES IN THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM, KHAJURĀHO

The Archaeological Museum at Khajurāho possesses a small collection covering some fourteen of the Khajurāho Jaina images. Of the fourteen, some nine sculptures, including a door-lintel and a Jaina quadruple (*Sarvatobhadra pratimā*) represent Jinas.[1] All these images carved in buff sandstone vary approximately from 56"×31" to 26"×16" in dimensions. Here we wish to say about the Jina images.

The Jina images of the museum follow a homogenous formula of representation, this being the case with all other Jina images of Khajurāho, in effect elsewhere in India in all ages. Of the eight Jina images, six show the Jinas seated in the *dhyāna-mudrā*, while the remaining two represent the Jinas as standing in the *kāyotsarga-mudrā*. All the Jina figures are marked with *śrīvatsa* symbol in the centre of the chest. In all the five seated images, Jinas are shown on ornate cushions decorated with *ratna* (jewel-ornament) and floral and rosette motifs. Excepting one case, the ornate cushion is seen placed on a *siṁhāsana*, lion-throne, with a round pilaster carved at each extremity, now damaged in four instances. A carpet shown hanging from the pedestal bears generally *muktā-varāla*.[2] In the centre of the throne, in all cases, is depicted a *dharmacakra* flanked by two crouching lions, shown with their backs turning away from each other, excepting in one case where the lions confront. These lions, in five instances, face the observer and in two others their necks are somewhat turned inward. Jinas in all examples are attended on two sides by a pair of standing male figures, each wearing rich jewellery like coiffure, ear-rings, necklaces of different forms, armlets, bracelets, *dhotī*, *upavīta*, waist-band, long-hanging garland and carrying a flywhisk, the latter held above the shoulder, by one hand, while the other is shown resting on the thigh.[3] In each example an elephant with either one or two riders is shown above each shoulder of the principal Jina. The figures of hovering celestial beings holding garlands (*mālādharas*) are rendered on two sides of the halo of the Jina. These flying figures in four examples are in pairs, while in the rest they are single. Above the head of the Jina, in every case, is carved a three-tiered umbrella surmounted by a drum being struck by a disembodied figure. In four examples, triple parasols have been supported by stands. The throne-back ends are ornamented with the *gaja-vyāla-makara* trio, the *makara* surmounted in three examples by a warrior in act of subduing the animal.

Barring Jina quadruple, in all other images the two recessed corners of the pedestal contain the figures of the *yakṣa-yakṣī* pairs of the Jinas, all being seated in *lalitāsana* with their one leg hanging down and the other being folded. All the *yakṣa-yakṣī* figures are bedecked in the customary ornaments described earlier in connection with the flywhisk bearers. The *yakṣī* figures show, in addition, *stanahāras* dangling between the two breasts. Of the nine images representing Jinas, three show Ṛṣabhanātha, three others Sumatinātha, Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra; and the rest three include Jaina quadruple, a pair of standing Jinas, and a door- lintel.

A close study of all the Jina representations of the museum also reveals important points of difference, besides the aforesaid common features, which pertain to the representation of (a) the cognizance (b) the attendant *yakṣa-yakṣī* figures (c) the miniature Jinas and other accessory figures. Now we proceed to the study of all the Jina images separately with a view to seeing their individual details.

Ṛṣabhanātha, Standing : (Acc. No. 1682; 54"x32")

The nude Jina stands on a lotus placed over a covering cloth hanging from the pedestal and showing the figure of *grāsa*. Left hand of the Jina below the elbow is damaged. In front of the *dharmacakra*, in the centre of the pedestal, is carved a bull, the cognizance of Ṛṣabhanātha. The two recessed corners of the pedestal have been occupied by the figures of the *yakṣa* and *yakṣī* of the Jina, Sarvānubhūti and Cakreśvarī. The four-armed *yakṣī* in the left corner rides on *garuḍa* (represented in human form) and holds in her two extant upper and lower right arms respectively a disc and the *abhaya-mudrā*. In the right corner sits a two-armed pot-bellied *yakṣa*, Sarvānubhūti showing probably a purse (made of mongoose skin) and a *mātuliṅga* (fruit) respectively in his right and left arms. Customarily, there ought to have been *yakṣa* Gomukha at this situation. Close to the foot of the Jina, on either side, are carved two devotees with their hands clasped in the attitude of adoration, one being seated and the other standing. The figure of the left-hand seated devotee is lost now. The two *caurī*-bearers bear long-stalked lotus in one hand and flywhisk, hanging downwards, in the other one. On the flanks of the image stele are seated Jina figures, the head of that on the left being lost. At the top of each framing pilaster is sculptured an elephant with two riders, one holding a vase for lustrating the Jina. The heads and arms of the each pair of the flying *vidyādharas*, so also of the drum-beater surmounting the *chatratrayī* are mutilated.

Beside the flanking attendants stands on each side a Jina figure over which is carved tiny standing Jina figure. On lateral jambs (in vertical row) and top *parikara* are carved in all fifty-two miniature Jina figures, including those already described. The standing Jina of the top corner (left) canopied by a three-hooded cobra overhead represents Pārśvanātha. All the fifty-two small Jina figures are provided with nimbus and are all somewhat mutilated. The Jinas represented here, however, donot numerically correspond with the traditional numbers 24, 48 or 72, the latter including the Jinas of the past and future ages. It may provisionally be suggested here that the figure fifty-two might have been adopted from the fifty-two Śāśvata-Jinālayas of Nandīśvaradvīpa, which has been a very popular representation in the form of plaques or *paṭṭas* among both the Jaina sects[4].

The hair of Ṛṣabhanātha disposed in ringlets with small *uṣṇīṣa* shows three unplaited lateral strands thrown over each shoulder. It may be mentioned here that according to the Śvetāmbara works like the *Kalpasūtra* of Bhadrabāhu (c. 3rd century A. D.)[5] and the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra* of Hemacandra (c. mid 12th century A.D.)[6] all the Jinas other than Ṛṣabhanātha tore out their hair in five handfuls at the time of renouncing the world while Ṛṣabhanātha plucking out four handfuls of hair permitted his back hair, falling on the shoulders, to remain on the request of Indra as it looked beautiful on his person. But, on the contrary,an early work like the *Paumacariya* of Vimalasūri[7] (close of the 3rd century A.D. : combines the traditions of both the sects)[8] and the Jaina Purāṇas[9] belonging to the Digambara tradition, never mention that Ṛṣabhanātha allowed his back hair to remain and, he also, according to those works,like other subsequent Jinas,plucked out all his hair in five handfuls.[10] As against the latter tradition the images of Ṛṣabhanātha, from the earliest times, i. e. from Kuṣāṇa period, show invariably the falling hair-locks, this being noticed in the images of all the ages throughout the country.

The triple parasol decorated with festoons is supported by a stand; and the halo behind the head consists of (from centre outwards) corolla, blossom circlet, rosette and some floral motif arranged alternately and stellate cut outer band. The figure of the warrior surmounting the *makara* of the throne-frame-animals of each edge is absent. At the top back slab are sculptured four figures playing flute. The image may on both stylistic and iconographic grounds be dated to the late tenth or early eleventh century A.D. The same date is warranted by the mention of word '*Ghaṇṭāi*' beneath the *yakṣa* figure indicating that the figure was procured from the Ghaṇṭāi temple.

Ṛṣabhanātha, Seated : (Acc. No. 1667, 56"×30")

Jina with his forearms and legs now damaged is sitting in the *dhyāna-mudrā* on a lotus spread on a high and ornate cushion. Below the cushion, in the centre, is carved a bull, flanked by two standing figures of worshippers with folded hands. The pilasters near the bull, in the throne, are damaged. In a panel, on either side of bull figure are arranged the figures of *Navagrahas*. Starting from left (from observers viewpoint) the first figure represents two-armed Sūrya, seated cross-legged and holding long-stalked lotuses in his both raised arms. Following six figures seated in *lalita*-pose show the *abhaya-mudrā* in their right arms, while their left hanging arms bear *kamaṇḍalu*, hanging below the folded knees. The eighth figure Rāhu, whose mere bust is shown, is surmounted by the figure of Ketu with its lower portion, below the waist, resembling a serpent, both the figures being much defaced. *Dharmacakra* with a beaded row carved in its front shows ribbons suspended from its sides. On the lowermost part of the pedestal is shown a beaded line, below which are delineated lotus petals.

The four armed *yakṣī* at the left corner rides on *garuḍa* (represented in human form) and carries a lotus (?) and a disc in her right and left upper arms, while her lower right and left arms bear respectively a fruit (?) and a ring. In the right recessed corner sits a four-armed bull-faced *yakṣa*, much defaced, on a *bhadrāsana*. The two right arms of the pot-bellied *yakṣa* are broken off but the remaining upper and lower left arms hold respectively a *paraśu* and a fruit.

Above the *yakṣa-yakṣī* figures there appears, on each side, a seated Jina surmounted by a standing Jina figure, faces of all the Jinas being defaced. Above much mutilated figures of the flywhisk bearers, on either side, is sculptured, on front of the pilasters, framing the principal Jina, a pair of standing Jinas, much worn out. At the top of each pilaster is carved an elephant with two riders, one holding a vase. A couple of hovering figures of the *mālādharas*, much mutilated, commonly hold a garland; they are surrounded by clouds. Beside *mālādhara* couple at each side, there appears a standing Jina, with head lost. Further up on either side is carved a couple of flying *mālādharas*, much mutilated. At the top back slab were sculptured five seated Jina figures, three of them are lost. These seated Jinas are flanked on both sides by eight standing Jinas, the two corner figures at the right side are gone. The upper part of the *parikara* is much broken. *Trichatra* here again is supported by a comparatively less pronounced stand, and the figure of the drum-beater has vanished.

The principal Jina figure with its face somewhat defaced has his hair done in the *jaṭā-jūṭa* fashion with three straight locks of hair falling on each shoulder. We meet with fairly good number of Ṛṣabhanātha images where the Jina's hair is done in *jaṭā-jūṭa* (matted hair) and which may be explained as an attempt to show him as a great *yogī* and also to hint at the similarity between Ṛṣabhanāth and Śiva, this is further stressed by the bull-cognizance and the bull- faced *yakṣa* of the Jina, the bull being the *vāhana* of Śiva. Images of Ṛṣabhanātha at Deogarh in most of the instances show long unplaited strands of hair (*jaṭā*) falling from the shoulders and also below the elbow of the hanging arms in case of the standing figures. It may be noted that representation of such a long *jaṭā* occurs only at Deogarh. These images generally exhibit comparatively small *jaṭā-jūṭa* overhead. The representation of *jaṭā-jūṭa* over the head of Ṛṣabhanātha, despite the fact that no work prescribes *jaṭā-jūṭa*, indicates some definite bearing of the Śiva-iconography on that of Ṛṣabhanātha. Such an attempt was made from the early mediaeval period onwards. The analogy between Ṛṣabhanātha and Śiva may also be gathered from several Hindu works alluding to Ṛṣabhanātha (Vṛṣabha) as a great *yogī*.[11] Round the head is an aureole with a corolla in the centre, and also showing a row of lotus petals, a band filled with dotted and linear designs and a stellate cut border. The image can be assignd to the first half of the 11th century A. D.

Ṛṣabhanātha, Seated : (Acc. No. 1694 ; 42"x25")

Jina is seated on an ornate cushion placed on a pedestal supported by pilasters, now lost. Below the *dharmacakra* is carved a very small figure of bull, which, however, was confused with goat and the image was thus labelled in the museum as that of Kunthunātha, the seventeenth Jina. The presence of the usual attendant *yakṣa-yakṣī* figures,namely Sarvānubhūti and Cakreśvarī, accompanying Ṛṣabhanātha also warrants our identification. At each extremity of the pedestal is seated a devotee with folded hands, the figure to left being that of a female. Above these figures are carved the figures of *yakṣa* and *yakṣī*, sheltered in pillared niches. The four-armed *yakṣī* to left rides on *garuḍa* (represented in human form) and holds discs in upper pair of arms, while her lower right and left arms show respectively the *varada-mudrā* and a conch. The two-armed *yakṣa* of the corresponding side, though not possessing bull face just as several other figures do, shows the same attributes as usually carried by the two-armed figures of the *yakṣa* associated with Ṛṣabhanātha at Khajurāho. The *yakṣa* betrays the *abhaya-mudrā* and a mongoose-skin purse respectively in his right and left hands. Above these *yakṣa-yakṣī* figures there appears, on either side, a standing Jina, slightly smaller in size than the middle, now headless. These figures provided with trilinear umbrellas topped by disembodied figures beating the drums and nimbuses consisting of lotus petals and beaded border, stand on brackets with beaded decorations in front. Instead of a couple, a single flying *vidyādhara*, holding a garland, is carved on either side of each flanking Jina. The heads of the flying *mālādharas* are lost. Above the flying figures, on each side, there appears an elephant with a rider. Beside elephant figures at each edge is carved, in a pillared niche, a seated Jina figure. At the top, in the centre, also sits a Jina likewise housed in a pillared niche. The upper part of the sculpture is designed like the *śikhara* of a temple with three successive tiers topped by *āmalaka*.

The hair of the central Jina is treated in schematic curls with a small *uṣṇīṣa*. The absence of falling lateral strands, however, does not go against our identification inasmuch as in some other instances, though very few, also this feature is found to be absent owing to the omission. Round the head of the Jina is a halo composed of a blossom circlet and prominent garland-like band. The entire image is somewhat effaced and crude in execution and may well be ascribed to the early 12th century A. D.

Saṁbhavanātha, Seated : (Acc. No. 1715; 50"x34")

Jina is sitting on lotus spread on an ornate cushion. The two pilasters supporting the pedestal are lost and the lion figures are also damaged. The *dharmacakra* in the present example is flanked by two devotees, below which is carved a very small figure of a horse, the cognizance of the third Jina, Saṁbhavanātha. The *yakṣa-yakṣī* figures of the two shallow and pillared niches are of course not shown with the symbols as prescribed in the iconographic *dhyānas*. The two-armed *yakṣī* of the left corner shows the *abhaya-mudrā* and a lotus respectively in her right and left arms. The two-armed *yakṣa* of the corresponding side holds probably a skull-cup in his right hand, while the other hand shows a mongoose-skin purse. The *yakṣa* appears to be Sarvānubhūti, the most favoured *yakṣa* at Khajurāho. Above these figures there occurs, on either side, a standing Jina, slightly smaller in size than the middle Jina, shaded by a canopy of five-hooded serpent, all its top hoods being damaged. These flanking Jinas standing as naked on brackets have their hair disposed in curls with *uṣṇīṣas*. Hoods being five, both the Jinas may be identified as Supārśvanātha. Such representations of flanking Jinas also occur in pretty good number at Khajurāho. Beside these Jinas, at each edge, appears a female figure, wearing the usual jewellery and *dhammilla*, carrying as she does a flywhisk turned downwards, and the other hand resting on thigh. These female figures are meant to represent the attendants of the flanking Jinas. Further up on the top of the pilasters, framing the middle Jina, on each side is carved a seated Jina, sheltered in a miniature shrine with three successive tiers and throne-frame-animals. One of the two riders of each side is likewise holding a pitcher. Above the *trichatra* there appears a much defaced figure of seated Jina. At each top back slab occurs a hovering figure engaged in playing flute.

Jina's hair is done in schematic curls with a top knot. The halo round the head comprises blossom circlet and prominent garland-like outer band. The image is datable to the latter half of the 11th century A. D.

Pārśvanātha, Seated : (Acc. No. 1618; 52"×31")

Jina canopied by a seven-hooded cobra, all hoods mutilated, with its coils going down on the back side, is seated on serpent coils, though not so pronouncedly as generally noticed in majority of the Pārśvanātha images in Khajurāho and elsewhere. Representation of Pārśvanātha as seated or standing on the serpent coils with its seven hoods forming a canopy overhead is fully in conformity with the tradition.[12] It is narrated in the Jaina works of both the sects that Dharaṇendra, a snake king, came for the protection of the Jina from heavy rain, an *upasarga*, calamity, caused by Kamatha demon (Asura Meghamālina), while he was absorbed in *tapas* and meditation. Dharaṇendra by keeping the Jina's both legs in its lap (made of coils) and raising the canopy of seven hoods rescued the Jina from that drastic *upasarga*; which is why the icons of Pārśvanātha always show from the earliest times (Kuṣāṇa period) the seven headed cobra overhead, and sometimes also the serpent coil being extended down to the figure's base.

The covering cloth in the present example is decorated with garland. In the left recessed corner sits a two-armed *yakṣī* Padmāvatī with three-headed cobra overhead. Padmāvatī holds a fruit in the left hand while the other arm is hidden. On the corresponding side sits a kneeling figure of a male with hands in supplication and head under a serpent canopy. Above the figures of flywhisk bearers there appears, on either side, a seated Jina with an elephant and two riders atop. Beside the elephant at each top corner is carved a standing Jina. The male figure of each couple of hovering celestial beings carries a garland while its spouse is shown with folded hands. The figure of the drum-beater with the triple umbrella is somewhat injured.

The wrist of Pārśvanātha is slightly mutilated. Jina's hair is arranged in spirals with an *uṣṇīṣa*-protuberance. Here also the figure of warrior subduing the *makara* of the throne-frame-animals is absent. The image can be dated to the latter half of the 11th century A. D.

Mahāvīra, Seated : (Acc. No. 1731)

Jina is seated on an ornate cushion with his left knee damaged and the pilasters supporting the pedestal are completely lost. Beneath the *dharmacakra* is carved a small figure of lion, the cognizance of Mahāvīra, which is flanked by two devotees with folded hands. Two-armed *yakṣa*, Sarvānubhūti, carved on the right extremity of the pedestal holds a purse in his extant left arm. Two-armed *yakṣī*, Siddhāyikā, of the left corner bears probably a lotus in the left arm and with her right she shows the *abhaya-mudrā*. Here the portion below the waist of the *yakṣī* has been completely damaged. A female figure surmounts on either side the figure of the *yakṣa* and *yakṣī* and holds a lotus in the inner hand while the outer hand rests on the thigh. The figures of the attendant flywhisk bearers are severely damaged. On the top of each pilaster, framing the central Jina, sits a defaced Jina flanked by two standing Jinas. Here again the flying figure of *vidyādhara* carved on either side is single and over that is carved an elephant with two riders, the elephant figure of the right corner being lost. Above the single hovering figure again appears on each side a single flying celestial being bearing a garland. At left upper corner sits a much worn figure of Jina, while the Jina figure of the corresponding corner has been lost with the broken portion of the corner. The figure of the drum-beater surmounting the triple parasol is not visible.

The hair of the Jina is dressed in schematic curls with a small knot. The halo behind the head comprises blossom circlet, rosette and lozenge shaped decoration arranged alternately and beaded band. The image may be dated to the 12th century A. D.

Jaina Quadruple : (Acc. No. 1588; 32"X17")

The Jaina quadruple *(caumukha)*, also called *Pratimā Sarvatobhadrikā* or *Sarvatobhadrikā Pratimā*, was a very favoured among the Jaina images and its antiquity can be traced to the days of the beginning of the Jaina art. in the Kuṣāṇa age at Mathurā (Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā), and which continued to be preferred during all the subsequent ages. During the Kuṣāṇa age only two of the four Jinas are definitely identified by reason of the falling hair-locks and seven-headed cobra overhead as Ṛṣabhanātha and Pārśvanātha respectively. A further development in the depiction of the *Sarvatobhadra Pratimā* during the early mediaeval period may be seen in their fashioning in the form of a miniature temple with the top made after a *śikhara*. Such representations showing three or even more successive tiers and generally depicting several small Jina figures other than the four main Jinas without any uniformity in regard to their number, are reported from other Jaina art centres in Madhya Pradesh and every where else.

The present *Caumukha* is a solitary example at Khajurāho. Much effaced, it is uniform in composition on all four sides and represents on each direction, in the centre, a seated Jina accompanied by twelve miniature Jina figures. It should be noted here that Jinas of the two directions only can be identified with the help of a seven-hooded serpent canopy in the case of Pārśvanātha and falling hair-locks in the case of Ṛṣabhanātha. Lower portions of the pedestals of the rest two sides have peeled off, rendering the identification of the Jinas impossible.

In the middle on each of the four sides sits a Jina on a cushion placed on a pedestal borne by two lions, instead of pilasters. The covering cloth of the pedestal shows on all the sides either geometrical patterns or as usual the festoons suspended from the mouth of *kīrtimukha*. Halo round the head of all the Jinas is plain and the hair in each case is done in curls with a small knot. At each extremity of the pedestal occurs a seated Jina surmounted by a pair of standing Jinas with a seated Jina further above. Above the *trichatra* of the middle Jina, in the centre, appears a Jina seated in a pillared niche with an arched pediment atop. The Jina is topped by another seated Jina figure. Also at either end of the upper *parikara* a pillared niche, designed like a miniature shrine, shelters a standing Jina figure. The upper part of the image, on all sides, is designed like a *śikhara* with three successive tiers.

The present *Caumukha* represents on each side the thirteen Jinas, including the middle Jina, thus making the total number of the Jinas represented as fifty-two. The representation of the thirteen Jinas in each of the four directions here, as found in some Digambara representations of Nandīśvara *bimba*, perhaps reflects some bearing of the Nandīśvara-dvīpa plaques on our *Caumukha*.[13] On the basis of the execution and rendering of forms the *Caumukha* can be placed in the latter half of the 11th century A. D.

A Pair of Standing Jinas : (Acc. No. 1653, 53"×32")

Pairs of standing Jinas are represented at Khajurāho by as many as nine images, all of them being very much analogous with regard to their execution and other details. The fashioning of such images was perhaps most favoured among instances coming from Madhya Pradesh, especially at Khajurāho. It is still a matter of consideration what idea could have worked behind such depiction. This might possibly suggest that all the Jinas are equal in position and, therefore no line of demarcation can be drawn between any two Jinas in regard to their relative status.

This is for this reason that except for in one case in all others the respective cognizances of the Jinas have been omitted, despite the fact that artists of that time were aware of what they were.

Each of the two standing Jinas, represented on separate and simple pedestals, is accompanied, on either side, by a flywhisk bearer, single hovering figure bearing garland, an elephant with two riders, triple parasol topped by a *kalaśa,* instead of the usual drum, with two drooping leaves on its sides, halo decorated with incised lotus petals and beaded band. The pedestal of each Jina as usual is supported by two pilasters with two lions standing to front. The carpet hanging from the pedestals of both the Jinas show lotus petals decorated with the beaded pattern. Each of the two Jinas is worshipped by two figures seated close to the feet with folded hands. The hair of each Jina is arranged in spirals with a small *uṣṇīṣa* Both the hands of the left-hand Jina (from observer's viewpoint) are damaged. Two recessed corners of the pedestal contain two-armed figures of the *yakṣa* and *yakṣī,* holding alike symbols. Both the figures holding water-pot in the right hand show the *abhaya-mudrā* with their left ones. The right-hand Jina figure has lost his left arm, while the remaining right arm holds a lotus, as usual with the Jina images of early mediaeval period. The figures of the *yakṣa* and *yakṣī* likewise carry the similar symbols. In the intervening space between the two Jinas are shown (from below) a standing Jina, two pairs of standing Jinas, one above the other, and a seated Jina. Further up, between the flying *mālādharas* of the two principal Jinas appears another hovering figure bearing a garland. On either lateral end of the image are carved two standing Jinas, one above the other. The faces of both the Jinas are defaced and the genitals also are injured. The image may be dated towards the end of the 11th century A. D.

Door-lintel Representing Jinas : (Acc. No. 1724)

In the middle of the door-lintel is carved a seated Jina sheltered in a miniature shrine with throne-frame-animals. Jina sitting on a cushion with a three-tiered umbrella and foliage on its sides has his hair done in curls with a top knot. The miniature shrine is flanked on each side by two standing figures, three of them being Jinas and the rest one figure to left writhed by the creepers round hands and legs represents Bāhubalī. Bāhubalī, the second son of Ṛṣabhanātha, was born of Sunandā. He was venerated by both the sects of the Jainas.[14] The heads of all the standing Jinas are damaged. Above the heads of these figures there appears, on either side, a Jina seated on bracket. The niche of each extremity also contains a seated Jina figure. Moreover, at right edge again appears a standing Jina, housed in a pillared niche. The present door-lintel representing nine Jinas and Bāhubalī may be dated to the 11th century A. D.

Foot-notes

(1) The remaining five show the figures of Jaina goddesses, namely, Ambikā, Manovegā (more correctly fourteenth Vidyādevī Acchuptā), two Jaina couples (probably the parents of the Jinas) and a Jaina Mātrikā (without any Jaina characteristic).

(2) From whose open mouth are suspended festoons.

(3) However, there is an exception to that (Acc. No. 1682) which shows a lotus in the inner hand and a flywhisk, turned downwards, in the outer one.

(4) Consult, Shah, U. P., *Studies in Jaina Art*, Varanasi, 1955, pp. 120-21.

(5) ...asogavarapāyassa ahe jāva sayameva caümuṭṭhiyaṁ loyaṁ kareī,...

Kalpasūtra 195.

(Ed. Devendra Muni, Sri Amar Jain Āgam Śodha Saṅsthān, Shivana, 1968).

(6) "...the Lord tore out the hair of his head in four handfuls, as if intending to give the remains of the sacrifice to the four quarters......As the Lord of the world was on the point of pulling out the rest of his hair in a fifth handful, Namucidevis asked him, "O Lord, this hair-creeper brought by the wind to your golden shoulders shines like an emerald. So let it remain." The Lord kept the creeper of his hair just as it was..."

Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra, Ādiśvaracaritra, 3. 60-70.

(Trans. by Helen M. Johnson, GOS. No. L1, Vol. I, p. 166, Baroda, 1931).

(7) siddhāṇa namukkāraṁ, kāüṇa ya pañcamuṭṭhiyaṁ loyaṁ /
caühi sahassehi samaṁ, patto ya jiṇo paramadikkhaṁ //

Paumacariya 3. 136.

(8) Dr. V. M. Kulkarni writes in his introduction to the *Paumacariya* that the work was composed sometime before the division of the Jaina community occurred. It is due to the noted fact that we find therein the references both to the Śvetāmbara and the Digambara traditions. According to Dr. Kulkarni, "If it is insisted that a specific religious denomination be given to Vimalasūri, it would be more correct to describe him as a Śvetāmbara writer than as a Digambara writer......"

See, Introduction of *Paumacariya*, p. 22.

(9) nir-lyucya bahu-mohāgra-vallarīḥ keśa-vallarīḥ /
jāta-rūpa-dharo dhīro jāinī dīkṣāṁ upādade //

Ādipurāṇa of Jinasena (early 9th century), 17. 201.

(Ed. Pt. Pannalal Jaina, Jñānapīṭha Mūrtidevī Jaina Granthamālā, Sanskrit Grantha No. 8, Varanasi 1963).

pañca-muṣṭibhir ut-khātān vidāujāh mūrdha-jān vibhoḥ /
prati-gṛhya kṛtān mūrdhni cikṣepa kṣīra-vāri-dhān //

Harivaṁśa Purāṇa of Jinasena (last quarter of the 8th century), 9. 98.

(Ed. Pt. Pannalal Jaina, Jñānapīṭha Mūrtidevī Jaina Granthamālā, Sanskrit Grantha No. 27, Varanasi, 1962).

(10) Shah, U. P., 'Beginnings of the Jaina iconography'. *Bull Museums and Arch. in U. P.*, No. 9, June 1972, p. 7. He writes, "*Ṛṣabhanātha* is further identified on account of the hair-locks falling on his shoulders, for, while the other Jinas plucked out all the hair, the first Jina, at the special request of Indra, allowed his back-hair (falling on shoulders) to remain, as they looked very beautiful". But the Digambara tradition, as we earlier noticed, of the Jaina Purāṇas and also an early Jaina work-the *Paumacariya* clearly mention that Ṛṣabhanātha like other subsequent Jinas also plucked out all his hair in five handfuls.

(11) Consult Editorial Note, Ādipurāṇa of Jinasena *op. cit.*, pp. 1-14; Manjula, Sadhvi, "The Identity of Ṛṣabha and Śiva", *Jain Journal*, Vol. II, No. 3, Jan. 1968, pp. 133-37.

(12) taṁ jñātvā vadhibodhena dharaṇī=śo vi-nir-gataḥ /
dharaṇyāḥ pra- sphurad- ratna-phaṇā-maṇḍapa-maṇḍitaḥ //
bhadraṁ tama-sthād ā-vṛtya tat-patnī ca phaṇā-tateḥ /
upary=uccāiḥ sam-ud-dhṛtya sthitā vajrā=tapa-cchidam //

Uttarapurāṇa of Guṇabhadra (close of the 9th century) 73. 139-40.

(Ed. Pt. Pannalal Jaina, Jñānapīṭha Mūrtidevī Jaina Granthamālā, Sanskrit Grantha No 14, Varanasi, 1968)

ahirāü payāhiṇa jiṇahā devi /
vaṅdaī paya-paṅkaya ṇavivibevi /
uccāīu salilahā puṇu jiṇiṅdu /
ṇaṁ pevahi ṇaha-yalā sura-giriṅdu /
avisaṇṇe jiṇavara-calaṇa bevi /
acchaṅgahā uppari saṅṭhavevi /
titthayara-sirahā laha-laha-lahaṅtu /
kiü uppari phaṇi-maṇḍaü mahaṅtu /
āsīvisu sattahī vara-phaṇehī /

Pāsaṇāhacariu of Ācharya Padmakirti (1077), 14. 26.

(Ed. Prafulla Kumara Modi, Prakrit text Society Series No. 8, Varanasi, 1965).

"...Dharaṇa, the Indra of the Uregas (Nāgas)...went with his wives to the Teacher. Dharaṇa bowed to the Master and placed beneath his feet a tall lotus with erect stalk, resembling the seat of an omniscient. The serpent-king covered the Lords back, sides, and breast with his own coils and made an umbrella with seven hoods over his head..."

Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra, II, 247-295 (Vol. V, No. 139, p. 396).

Also see, *Pārśvanātha Caritra* of Bhavadeva Sūri (c. mid 14th century) 6. 192-93. (Ed. Hargovindadas and Becharadas, Varanasi, 1911).

(13) Shah, U. P., *op. cit.*, p. 120.

(14) The details are mentioned in my paper 'A Note on some Bāhubalī images from North India', *East and West*, Vol 23, Nos. 3-4, 1973, pp. 347-53.

A UNIQUE IMAGE OF ṚṢABHANĀTHA IN THE OLD ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM, KHAJURĀHO

The old open air Archaeological Museum—previously known as the Jardin Museum—at Khajurāho, possessing about thirty Jaina images, all belonging to the Candella period, preserves a unique image (Acc. No. 1651) of the first Jina Ṛṣabhanātha accompanied by the two most favoured Jaina goddesses, namely, Cakreśvarī and Ambikā, in front of the pedestal.[1] Before describing the present image, it would perhaps be appropriate here to note that Ṛṣabhanātha was accorded at the site the most favoured position among all the subsequent Jinas.[2] This is further supported by the fact that all the three remaining Jaina temples, namely, the Pārśvanātha[3], the Ghaṇṭāi[4] and the Ādinātha, were dedicated to the first Jina Ṛṣabhanātha, as indicated by the figure of Cakreśvarī, the *Yakṣī* of Ṛṣabhanāha, carved in the *lalāṭabimba* of each of the three temples.

Ṛṣabhanātha wearing a *śrīvatsa* symbol in the centre of the chest is seated cross-legged in the attitude of meditation (*paryaṅkāsana*) with hands laid in the lap, the wrists now being damaged. The Jina with his right sole injured sits on an ornate cushion placed on a pedestal, not supported by usual pilasters and lion figures. The pilasters of the two extremities and two lions, suggesting *siṁhāsana*, absent in some other Jina images, though very few, of Khajurāho, are absent in the present image because the artist here intended to render at their places, the two Jaina goddesses. In front of the cushion, in the middle, is carved the cognizance of Ṛṣabhanātha, the bull, flanked, at two corners, by two small figures of worshippers, much worn and represented with their hands folded in the attitude of adoration. A carpet bearing the figure of *kīrtimukha* is hanging down from the pedestal, below which, in the centre, is carved a *dharmacakra* flanked by two devotees.

On two sides of the *dharmacakra* are sculptured, in recessed portion, two four-armed seated goddesses. Right-hand goddess, wearing embellished coiffure, necklaces, *dhotī* and other usual ornaments, holds the lotuses in her two left arms; while her right arms along with the legs are broken off. Below the seat appears her mount, lion. The figure certainly represents Ambikā who, in Jaina sculptures of Khajurāho, enjoyed the highest position among all the Jaina goddesses. In all her four-armed sculptures from Khajurāho, except for in one case, she always rides on a lion and holds lotuses in her two upper arms. The presence of the lion mount and the lotus symbol in one extant arm, thus, makes its identification with Ambikā, traditionally known as the *Yakṣī* of Neminātha, doubtless. The goddess of the corresponding side, bedecked in decorated *mukuṭa*, necklaces and other usual ornaments, also, except for her upper right, has lost all her arms and legs. In the extant upper right arm, she bears a mace. The figure of her *vāhana*, *garuḍa*, somewhat mutilated and represented in human form, is carved below the seat. By virtue of the representations of the *garuḍa* and the mace symbol we can, beyond doubt, identify the goddess as Cakreśvarī, the *Yakṣī* of Ṛṣabhanātha.

The two recessed corners of the pedestal have been occupied by the four-armed figures of a male and a female, both seated in *lalitāsana* with one leg dangling down from the pedestal and the other being folded thereupon. The goddess of the left corner betrays lotuses in her two upper arms; while her lower right and left show respectively the *abhaya-mudrā*, safety bestowing gesture, and a *mātuliṅga*, fruit. In the corresponding right corner sits a four-armed, bull-faced, figure which holds a *paraśu* and a manuscript (?) respectively in its upper right and left arms ; and a *kamaṇḍalu* in the lower left. With his lower right he displays some *mudrā*, not discernible. The bull-faced male figure doubtless represents Gomukha *Yakṣa* of Ṛṣabhanātha ; while the female figure appears to be Lakṣmī, instead of Cakreśvarī. However, the figure of Lakṣmī, in place of Cakreśvarī, was carved just to avoid the repetition. Above these figures there appears, on each side a four-armed female figure sitting in *lalita* pose. Each of the two female figures similarly shows lotuses in the two upper arms; and a *kamaṇḍalu* (or a *mātuliṅga*) and the *abhaya-mudrā* in the lower left and right respectively. In the absence of the *vāhana* or any other distinguishing symbol these figures, in all probability, may be identified with Lakṣmī, who was, of course, a popular goddess in Jaina sculptures of Khajurāho and can be seen on the facades of the Pārśvanātha temple and the corner of some of the door-lintels. Above the right-hand goddess appears a male figure surmounted by a four-armed figure of some unidentified divinity, whose attributes are, however, not discernible.

Ṛṣabhanātha is attended, on either side, by a profusely ornamented male figure standing in *tribhaṅga* pose, with his both arms missing. These figures were certainly holding the flywhisks, now lost with the arms, just as the flanking attendants of the Jina images of Khajurāho and elsewhere. The hair of the Jina, arranged in small ringlets with small *uṣṇīṣa*—protuberance,shows three lateral strands, falling on each shoulder. The nimbus behind the head consists of the blossom circlet bordered by a band with lozenge-shaped decorations. Above the head of Ṛṣabhanātha is carved a trilinear umbrella topped by a much injured disembodied figure beating the drum. Above each shoulder of the Jina stands, on bracket, an elephant with riders, over which appears, on either side, three hovering figures of *mālādharas*. Besides the celestial beings there appears, on either edge, a diminutive figure of standing Jina. Beneath these figures, on either edge, again stands a miniature Jina figure.

The sculpture, measuring 50"×27" and fashioned in the buff-coloured sandstone, can safely be assigned to mid 12th century A.D. on the basis both of style and iconography.

Foot-notes

(1) Another instance showing the figures of Ambikā and Cakreśvarī, though unlike our figure occupying the two recessed corners of the pedestal, is known from the Temple No. 4 at Deogarh, U. P. The figure (11th century) illustrated by Klaus Bruhn in his book *The Jina Images of Deogarh* (Image No. 300) is, of course, a unique *tritīrthī* image of Ṛṣabhanātha at Deogarh.

The author has noticed one more example of *Ṛṣabhanātha* image (11th century) in the State Museum, Lucknow (Acc. No. 16.0.178). Here the two-armed Ambikā showing a child and a bunch of mangoes (?), and riding a lion, is likewise depicted on the left of the *dharmacakra*. Another mutilated figure of the corresponding side represents Lakṣmī. Cakreśvarī is represented with the disc and *garuḍa* mount in the left recessed corner of the pedestal. The evidence of these images proves, without doubt, that such innovations in the sphere of the Jaina iconography were occurring simultaneously at other places also. The occurrence of such popular Jaina goddess, as Ambikā and Lakṣmī, in the Ṛṣabhanātha images of the mediaeval period at once suggests that it was intended to accord an exalted position to Ṛṣabhanātha among all other Jinas.

(2) The number of the Ṛṣabhanātha images is more than that of the Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra,the latter two being represented by eleven and nine images respectively. The sculptural data from other places like Mathura (Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā) and Deogarh in U. P., and Akoṭā near Baroda in Gujarat, also reinforces the same fact.

(3) The presence of the figure of Cakreśvarī, the *Yakṣī* of Ṛṣabhanātha, in the middle of the door-lintel (*lalāṭa-bimba*) of the *maṇḍapa* of the Pārśvanātha temple, so also of the bull cognizance carved in front of the original throne of the image installed in its sanctum,demonstrates that temple was,beyond doubt,dedicated to Ṛṣabhanātha. This is further supported by the representation of the usual *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* pair of Ṛṣabhanātha, namely, Gomukha and Cakreśvarī, in the two recessed corners of the original throne. Hence, the present name is misnomer.

(4) Now its *ardhamaṇḍapa* and *mahāmaṇḍapa* only being extant.

IMAGES OF AJITANĀTHA AT KHAJURĀHO

Ajitanātha, the second Jina, is represented at Khajurāho by four images. All the images, worked out of the buff-coloured sandstone, vary approximately from 19"×14" to 52"×15" in dimensions. All the figures are now preserved in an open Air Museum, adjacent to the Ādinātha Temple. The figures are assignable to a period from the 11th to the 12th century A. D. On the testimony of the statistical study of the Jina images of Khajurāho, it is evident that Ajitanātha was accorded a favoured position who in order of preference is placed after the three most popular Jinas at the site, namely, Ṛṣabhanātha, Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra.

Ajitanātha has been rendered with the full cortége of their accessory attributes including the *aṣṭaprātihāryas*, *śrīvatsa* and the *lāñchhana*, elephant. As to the *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* pair, it is surprising to note that their figures have been carved in a single instance only (K 43). In other instances, the *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* figures are dropped in favour of the tiny Jina figures.

In three cases Ajitanātha is represented as seated/cross-legged with his hands laid in the lap in *dhyāna-mudrā* on an ornate cushion, decorated with lozenge shape and floral design, and in one case, however, he stands erect as sky-clad in the *kāyotsarga-mudrā* (K 22). The standing Jina is shown directly on the pedestal, while in other instances he sits on a lotus placed over an ornate cushion. In two examples the hair of the Jina is dressed in small ringlets with *uṣṇīṣa* at the top, while in one case (K 22) head is lost. In remaining one instance, the hair is disposed in two parallel rows of curls on the forehead and has been combed back in *jaṭā* fashion. The pedestal is borne by round pilasters carved at two extremities, which are absent in one instance (K 43). The covering cloth hanging on the front of the pedestal is decorated with *kīrtimukha* from whose open mouth is suspended festoons. However, in one case (K 59) it also shows beads and lozenge-shaped decorations. In the centre of the pedestal is depicted a *dharmacakra* flanked by kneeling worshippers with folded hands. At two ends of the pedestal are also sculptured two lions, suggesting *siṁhāsana*, standing or sitting with their backs and faces turned towards each other, and in one case, however, they stand to front facing the observer. Barring a single instance (K 66), in all others the *mūlanāyaka* is attended on either side by a standing male fly-whisk bearer, wearing rich jewellery, and with the inner hand bearing a flywhisk held above the shoulder and the outer hand resting on the thigh. Over the head of the Jina is shown a three folded *chatra* topped by a disembodied figure beating a drum, now damaged in two examples (K 59, K 66).

First image (K 66), measuring 23·5"×17", exhibits the elephant emblem on left of the *dharmacakra*. On the lower most part of the *siṁhāsana* are carved some flying figures. Each recessed corner of the throne is occupied by a seated Jina figure, in place of *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* pair. The principal Jina is joined by two standing Jina figures. At each top corner, there also appears a standing Jina. The nimbus of the *mūlanāyaka* is decorated with lotus blossom and beaded circle. However, the figures of the flying *mālādharas* and elephants with riders, usually carved on the top *parikara*, are absent here. The figure is attributable to the 11th century A. D.

Second image (K 43) measures 23" × 16" and is datable to the 11th century A. D. The halo shows similar decorations as referred to above. Over the head of each *cāmaradhara* figure is depicted a standing Jina figure. The top *parikara* shows the flying *mālādharas* and elephants with riders. It is the solitary image of Ajitanātha at Khajurāho which contains the *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* figures. However, the *Yakṣa* figure of the left extremity is hidden under the plaster but on the corresponding right side, there appears two-armed *Yakṣī* carrying a sword in her extant right hand.

Third image (K 59), measuring 27"x15", is assignable to the 12th century A.D. Below the *dharmacakra* is carved the cognizance, an elephant. In the right recessed corner of the throne is carved a pair of the standing Jinas headed by a seated Jina, over which again appears a standing Jina, slightly smaller in size than the principal Jina. However, the figures of the left corner are now lost with the damaged portion of the throne. At the top *parikara* are also shown the figures of two seated Jinas and flying *mālādharas*. At right top corner there also appears a seated Jina figure. The top *parikara* also exhibits at each end an elephant with two riders, of which one bears a vase. The aureole of the *mūlanāyaka* is decked with blossom circlet and two rows of beaded bands.

Fourth image (K 22), measuring 52"x15", is ascribed to the 12th century A. D. The head and left arm of the standing Jina are now damaged. Beneath the *dharmacakra* is carved an elephant. Close to the feet of *mūlanāyaka* sit figures of male and female adorers. In the left recessed portion of the image are carved-from below-three pairs of standing Jinas, one above the other. Under the feet of the principal Jina are carved five small figures, identifiable with the five *grahas*. However, the four *grahas* have not been represented. The first three figures similarly show the *abhaya-mudrā* and the *kalaśa* in two hands. The fourth figure is that of Rāhu with human bust and the fifth figure is of Ketu with arms folded and its protion below waist resembling a snake. The top *parikara* exhibits two flying *mālādharas* and elephants with riders. The throne-back-ends are ornamented with the *gaja-vyāla-makara* trio.

IMAGES OF SAMBHAVANĀTHA AT KHAJURĀHO

Sambhavanātha, the third Jina, is represented at Khajurātho by four images. Of these, the image enshrined in the Modern Temple No.27 is of no significance as it does not exhibit any accessory iconographic details and hence it has not been included in our present study. The image fashioned in the black stone, is inscribed in the *Saṁvat* 1215 (=1158). Of the remaining three images,[1] two are hewn out of buff sandstone and the rest one (Temple No. 16) in grey sandstone. All the three images, varying approximately from 23.5"×17" to 50"×34" in dimensions, are assignable to a period from the 11th to the 12th century A. D.

The images of Sambhavanātha at the site follow a homogeneous formula of Jina representation, this being the case with all other Jina images of Khajurāho. Sambhavanātha has been rendered with the full cortége of their assessory symbols including *aṣṭaprātihāryas* and the cognizance, horse. Regarding the *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* pair of Sambhavanātha, it may be noted that their standard and distinct iconographic form was not known to the Khajurāho sculptors. And in their representation the artists did not follow at all the injunctions of the Digambara texts.A Digambara Jaina text, the *Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra* (of Āśādhara : 1200-1250 A.D.) envisages for the six-armed Trimukha *Yakṣa* of the Jina a disc, a sword, and a goad in the left arms, and a staff, a trident and a sharpened *kartṛikā* (dagger) in the right ones. It makes three-eyed *Yakṣa* ride upon a peacock (3.131). The same text for the six-armed *Yakṣī* Prajñapti prescribes an arrow with crescent top, an axe, a fruit, a sword, an *iḍhi* and the *varada-mudrā*. She rides over a bird (3.158).

All the three images of Sambhavanātha, marked with the *śrīvatsa* symbol in the centre of the chest, represent him as seated cross-legged in the attitude of meditation (*dhyāna-mudrā*) with hands laid in the lap and plams facing upwards. In two instances, Jina is seated on lotus petals spread over an ornate cushion, while in the remaining one (Temple No.16) he simply sits on an ornate cushion. The ornate cushions, in all cases, are resting on *siṁhāsanas*, consisting of pilasters at two extremities, which are damaged in two cases (Acc.No. 1715, and K 50). The two rampant lions, supporting the *siṁhāsana*, are shown in each instance as seated with their backs and necks turned towards each other and confronting the observer in one case (Acc. No. 1715). These lions, in each case, are intervened by a *dharmacakra* The *siṁhāsana*, in each instance, contains in its centre the figure of horse, the cognizance of Sambhavanātha. The cognizance, in two examples, is carved below the *dharmacakra*, while in the rest one it is shown on the covering cloth (Temple No.16). A carpet, shown hanging from the throne, bears either *muktā-varāla* with festoons suspended from its open mouth (Acc. No. 1715) or floral motif (K 50).

The hair of the Jina is treated in curls with small *uṣṇīṣa*. The Jina, in all examples, is flanked by a pair of male attendants, wearing rich jewelleries and carrying a flywhisk, held above the shoulder, by one hand, while the other is shown resting on the thigh. On the back slab, above the shoulders of the principal Jina, in two examples, there appear two elephants with riders, while in the remaining one they are vanished completely (K50). Over the head of the Jina is rendered a trilinear umbrella surmounted by a drum, struck by a disembodied figure which is badly mutilated in one instance (K50). The figures of the hovering *mālādharas*, sculptured on either side of the *trichatra*, are single in one instance while in the remaining two they are shown with their spouses.

First image (23.5" x 17"), lying in the Open Air Museum (K 50), adjacent to the Ādinātha temple of Khajurāho, exhibits at its right top corner *a tiny* figure of seated Jina, the figure of the corresponding left side is lost now. The *mūlanāyaka* is framed between two square pilasters and the *bhāmaṇḍala* behind his head shows-from centre outwards-small linear decoration, blossom circlet, and a beaded band bordered by stellate cut circle. On right recessed portion are portrayed four small Jina figures, of which two are seated and the two others are standing. The ends of the throne have been occupied by two identical figures of the two-armed goddesses seated in *lalitāsana* and holding a sword and some indistinct object in their hands. The *Yakṣa* figure has not been incarnated in the present instance since both the ends are occupied by *Yakṣī* figures. In regard to their attributes, the goddesses do not correspond with the prescriptions of any Digambara texts. On the basis of its style and iconography the image is assignable to the 11th century A. D.

Second image (50"x34"), preserved in the Archaeological Museum, Khajurāho (Acc. No. 1715), shows a pair of devotees with folded hands on two sides of the *dharmacakra*. The hands and legs of the Jina are mutilated in such a manner that his genitals are visible. The two-armed *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* figures, occupying the two shallow and pillared extremities of the throne, do not conform to the iconographic injunctions of the Digambara texts. The *Yakṣī* of the left corner shows the *abhaya-mudrā* and a lotus respectively in her right and left arms. The *Yakṣa* of the corresponding right end holds probably a skull cup in his right hand and a mongoose-skin purse in the left. The *Yakṣa* is understandably Sarvānubhūti (or Kubera), who was the most favoured *Yakṣa* at Khajurāho and elsewhere.

Above the *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* fiigures there occurs, on either side, a standing Jina, slightly smaller in size than the middle Jina, shaded by a canopy of five-hooded serpent with its top being damaged. These flanking Jinas standing as naked on brackets have their hair done in curls with protuberance. Hoods being five, both the Jinas are identifiable with Supārśvanātha,the 7th Jina.Such renderings of flanking Jinas also occur in pretty good number of images at Khajurāho.[2] Beside these Jinas,at each edge, appears a female attendant figure, wearing the usual jewelleries with *dhammilla* and carrying a flywhisk, turned downwards, in one hand, while other hand is resting on thigh. Further up on the top of each of the two pilasters, framing the *mūlanāyaka*, is carved a seated Jina, sheltered in a miniature shrine with three successive tiers and a warrior engaged in a fight with leogryph. One of the two riders (of elephant) of each side is shown with a pitcher in hands. Above the *trichatra* appears a much defaced figure of seated Jina, harboured in a pillared miniature shrine with three successive spires. At each top back slab occurs a hovering figure engaged in playing flute. The two throne-back ends of the image are ornamented with the *gaja-vyāla-makara* trio, the last one being surmounted by a warrior in act of subduing the animal. The aureole around the head of the central Jina comprises blossom circlet and prominent garland-like outer band. The image is datable to the latter half of the 11th century A. D.

Third image (35. 5" × 24"), enshrined in the Modern Temple No. 16, is of crude workmanship. The principal Jina with bulging eyes has a halo consisting of a band filled with lozenges and a central blossom circlet. Beside the celestial *mālādhara* figures, there appears, on each side, a small standing Jina figure. The throne ends contain the figures of two-armed *Yakṣa* and *Yakṣī*, seated in *lalitāsana*. The *Yakṣa* figure of the right end shows a *mātuliṅga* (fruit) in his surviving left hand. The *Yakṣī* of the corresponding corner shows the *abhaya-mudrā* with her right hand and a fruit in the left. The image is attrtbutable to the late 12th century A. D.

Foot-notes

(1) The first image is exhibited in the Open Air Mus., Khajurāho (K 50), the second one is in the Archaeological Mus., Khajurāho (Acc. No. 1715) and the third one is installed in the Modern Temple No. 16.

(2) The representation of two flanking Jinas, accompanying the principal Jina with or without serpent hoods was also popular at Deogarh which is evident from a number of *tri-tīrthika* Jina images scattered over the site.

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IMAGES OF NEMINĀTHA AT KHAJURĀHO

Neminātha, the twenty-second Jina, has enjoyed undoubtedly a favoured position in the concrete representations through the ages. The distinguishing emblem of Neminātha is the conch and the Śāsanadevatās associated with him are Kubera (or Sarvānubhūti) and Ambikā (Kūṣmāṇḍī).The pot-bellied *Yakṣa* Kubera rides over an elephant and invariably holds a mongoose-skin purse,this being his distinguishing attribute. The *Yakṣī* Ambikā riding a lion invariably bears an *āmralumbi* (a bunch of mangoes) and a child (seated on the lap) in her hands as her distinct symbols. It is to be noted that the conventional and standardized forms of Kubera and Ambikā were known to the Khajurāho sculptors.

Neminātha is represented by two images at Khajurāho. These images are worked out of the buff coloured sandstone and vary from 26"×15" to 54"×31" in their measurements. The figures are attributable to the 11th-12th century A.D. It may be said here that although the *Yakṣa* Kubera and the *Yakṣī* Ambikā were accorded the most favoured position in the Jaina sculptures of Khajurāho,[1] their Master (Neminātha) could not receive that much veneration which is very much evident from the number of his separate sculptures. The number of the Neminātha images is comparatively less than that of the Ṛṣabhanātha, Pārśvanātha, Mahāvīra, Śāntinātha, Ajitanātha, Sambhavanātha and Supārśvanātha images.

The images of Neminātha at Khajurāho are carved with all their attributes, namely, the *aṣṭaprātihāryas*, *śrīvatsa*, distinguishing emblem (conch) and the *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* pair. Both the figures exhibit Neminātha as seated cross-legged in *dhyāna-mudrā* on an ornate cushion decorated with lozenges and floral design. The ornate cushion in one case (K 14) is placed over a lotus seat. The *mūlanāyaka* is attended upon by a standing flywhisk bearer on each flank. Over the head of the principal Jina is carved a *chatra-trayī* topped by a prostrate figure beating a drum.

The first Neminātha image, measuring 26"×15", is enshrined in the Modern Temple No. 10. The cognizance (conch) of the Jina carved on the lowermost portion of the throne is much effaced. But the rendering of the Yakṣī Ambikā makes the identification of the Jina with Neminātha doubtless. The throne ends are supported by two lions, suggesting *siṁhāsana*. The lions are shown as peeping out from the pedestal. The usual *dharmacakra* and the covering cloth of the throne are absent here. At each throne end are carved figures of two devotees. The flanking *cāmaradharas* bear a flywhisk in the inner hand while the outer hand is resting on the thigh. On the lowermost portion of the throne, there appears seven seated figures, perhaps portraying *grahas*.

The halo of the principal Jina is decorated with beaded bands and lotus petals. Above the triple parasol is sculptured a couple of flying *mālādharas* on each side over which their again appears a single hovering figure. The top *parikara* exhibits an elephant with riders at each end.

The throne ends are occupied by the figures of two-armed *Yakṣa* and *Yakṣī*, seated in *lalita*-pose. The *Yakṣa* shows the *varada-mudrā* (boon-conferring gesture) with his right hand while the left one is resting on thigh. The *Yakṣa* without the purse symbol cannot be identified with Kubera. The *Yakṣī* Ambikā supports a child, seated on her lap, with her surviving left hand. However, the lion mount of Ambikā is conspicuous by its absence. The present Neminātha image is datable to c. 11th centnry A. D.

The second image, measuring 54"×31", is lying in the open Air Museum (K.14). The head of the *mūlanāyaka* is lost now. The pilasters bearing the throne are also damaged. The lions of the throne are rendered as seated with their backs turned towards each other and facing the observer. The covering cloth hanging from the throne is ornamented with the *kīrtimukha* motif. Below the *dharmacakra* is depicted the conch emblem of Neminātha. The outer hands of the *chaurī*-bearers are broken off but the inner hands carry flywhisks kept over their shoulders. The trilinear umbrella surmounted by a disembodied figure, beating a drum, is much worn.

The top *parikara* contains the figures of the two couples of hovering *mālādharas* topped by two other *mālādharas*. An elaborately carved nimbus shows—from centre outwards—blossom circlet, prominent garland, rosettes and lozenges. There occurs sporadic representation of the twenty-three diminutive Jina figures at the *parikara*, which along with the figure of *mūlanāyaka* makes the present image a *cauvīsī* of Neminātha. Of the twenty-three Jinas, one is provided with the five-headed cobra overhead; thus identifiable with Supārśvanātha. The throne-back-ends are ornamented with the *gaja-vyāla-makara* trio.

The two recessed corners of the throne contain the figures of the two-armed *Yakṣa* and *Yakṣī*, seated in *lalitāsana* and joined by adorers. The right hand of the *Yakṣa* Kubera, is damaged, while the corresponding left bears a mongoose-skin-purse. The *Yakṣī* Ambikā bears a bunch of mangoes in her right hand while with corresponding left she supports a child seated in her lap. The image is assignable to c. 12th century A. D.

Foot-note

(1) The *Yakṣa* Kubera is represented by four separate sculptures. Barring the separate figures, he has also been portrayed as the attendant *Yakṣa* of almost all the Jinas, other than those of Pārśvanātha,at Khajurāho. At times even with Ṛṣabhanātha, the iconographic form of whose *Yakṣa* (Gomukha) was well known to

the Khajurāho sculptors, the two-armed Kubera has been carved. We may note here that the purse has always been his distinguishing symbol. Regarding the favoured position of *Yakṣī* Ambikā, it would suffice us to note that she has been represented by as many as eleven independent figures at Khajurāho. Besides, she has also been depicted on one extremity of the seven door-lintels, of which one is attached to the Ādinātha Temple. In accordance with the available iconographic prescriptions, she invariably rides over a lion and bears an *āmralumbi* and a child in her hands. It may be remarked that contrary to the *Yakṣa* Kubera, Ambikā has never been rendered with any other Jina but Neminātha.

A NOTE ON THE IDENTIFICATION OF A TĪRTHAṄKARA IMAGE AT BHARAT KALA BHAVAN, VARANASI

The image under discussion is procured from Rājghāṭ, Varanasi and is now preserved in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi (Acc. No. 212). The sculpture, representing a Jaina Tīrthaṅkara, is datable to c. seventh century A. D. (Fig. 13). The figure, hewn out of sandstone, measures 17¼ "×13".

The whole composition is divided into two parts being separated in the middle by a stone projection, showing lotus pattern design below it. In the upper part is carved the figure of the *Tīrthaṅkara* while in the lower are his *Yakṣa* and *Yakṣī*. This is a clear departure from the tradition where the figures of *Yakṣa* and *Yakṣī* were placed on the right and the left sides of the *Tīrthaṅkara*.

The *Tīrthaṅkara* is seated cross-legged in the attitude of meditation on an inverted lotus. His chest is marked with a *śrīvatsa* symbol. The hands and the body of the *Tīrthaṅkara* evince deep meditation. Below, in the centre of the pedestal is carved a *dharmacakra* being flanked on either side by the lion figures. The lion on the left side is defaced. A circular nimbus with lotus flower design is shown behind his head. The hair is arranged in short schematic curls with a trilinear umbrella over head. At the top on either side are sculptured two flying *mālādharas*. On the two sides appear two *caurī*-bearers standing in *tribhaṅga* and showing high head-dresses. In the lower portion, underneath the pedestal, is carved a tree, probably a *caitya-vṛkṣa* with a human figure on it. On the left side of tree is two-armed *Yakṣī* having a child in her left hand and a lotus flower in the right. To her right stands another figure which might represent another son of Ambikā, who is usually represented with her two sons, *Siddha* and *Buddha*, in the sculptures. Thus the identification of the *Yakṣī* with Ambikā is almost certain.[1] On the right side of the tree there stands the two-armed *Yakṣa* in *tribhaṅga* pose holding in his left and right hands respectively a pot, probably full of gold, and a lotus; thus undoubtedly representing Kubera *yakṣa*.

The present image has been labelled in the Museum as Mahāvīra which seems implausible on two grounds. First, it does not show the usual lion cognizance of Mahāvīra. Second, Ambikā is traditionally associated with Neminātha[2]. Hence, we can safely identify the image with Neminātha on account of the association of *yakṣī* Ambikā with the Jina. It may, however, be pointed out that whenever Ambikā is sculptured with a *Tīrthaṅkara* other than Neminātha the usual *lāñchhana* has invariably been carved on the pedestal.

Foot-notes

(1) However, in some other early renderings of Ambikā from Mathura and neighbouring areas also, we find that *āmralumbi* has not been shown.

(2) Shah, U. P., 'Iconography of the Jaina goddess Ambikā' *Journal of University of Bombay*, Vol. IX (N. S.), 1940-41, pp. 147-69.

A UNIQUE IMAGE OF ṚṢABHANĀTHA IN THE STATE MUSEUM, LUCKNOW

The State Museum, Lucknow possessing a number of Jaina images, mainly coming from the Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, Mathura, also exhibits an exquisitely carved image of Ṛṣabhanātha, the first Jina. The image (Acc. No. 16. O. 178) hails from Orāī, a place in the Jalaun district of Uttar Pradesh (Fig **3**). The image, measuring 47.6"×36.3", is fashioned in the buff-coloured sandstone. The importance of the image lies in the depiction, on two sides of the *dharmacakra*, of two Jaina goddesses; one of them being Ambikā and the other one, much mutilated, is possibly Lakṣmī.

The Ṛṣabhanātha image following a homogeneous formula of Jina representation, in effect also elsewhere during the early mediaeval period onwards, shows him with the full cortége of the accessory symbols and *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* pair. Jina is seated crosslegged in the *dhyāna-mudrā* with the *śrīvatsa* symbol in the centre of the chest. He is seated on a lotus with its petals spread over an ornate cushion decorated with *muktā-varāla* and jewelled lozenge motifs in its front. His soles and palms are also marked with *cakra* symbol. The hair of the Jina is disposed in spiral curls with *uṣṇīṣa* - protuberance, at the top. The hair also shows three unplaited lateral strands, an invariable feature of *Ṛ*ṣabhanātha, falling on each shoulder. The ornate cushion of the *mūlanāyaka* is placed on a *triratha* pedestal supported by two lions, suggesting *siṁhāsana*. The two lions standing with their backs turned to each other and paws up are represented with their necks turned somewhat inward. The lion figure to right (from visitor's standpoint) is severely damaged. In the middle of the throne is depicted a *dharmacakra* with suspended ribbons and also a bull, the cognizance of *Ṛ*ṣabhanātha, carved alongside. The right and left corners of the throne have respectively been occupied by the figures of *Yakṣa* and *Yakṣī*.

The two-armed pot-bellied figure of *Yakṣa*, seated in *lalitāsana* with right leg hanging and the corresponding left being tucked up, represents Sarvānubhūti (Kubera-like *Yakṣa*). It may, however, be recalled here that Sarvānubhūti happens to be the earliest and the most favoured *Yakṣa* of the Jaina pantheon who has been represented in art as the *Yakṣa* of most of the Jinas, barring Pārśvanātha, Supārśvanātha, and in cases *Ṛ*ṣabhanātha also. Customarily, there ought to have been *Yakṣa* Gomukha at this situation. Sarvānubhūti bears a fruit, slightly mutilated, in right hand, while the corresponding left shows a mongoose-skin purse. Close to his feet on two sides are carved two vases filled with coins, *nidhi*, of which one is turned on ground showing coins coming out and scattered. The *Yakṣa* is bedecked in necklace, armlets, ear-pendants and decorated headdress with long wavy *jaṭā*.

The corresponding left corner of the throne contains the figure of an eight-handed Cakreśvarī, seated in *lalitāsana* on *garuḍa* (represented in human form), who is supporting her with its two hands. The *Yakṣī* is embellished with tall *jaṭāmukuṭa*, necklace, ear-rings, scarf, armlets, *dhotī* and other usual jewelleries. Cakreśvarī is conceived as the *Yakṣī* of Ṛṣabhanātha. She shows here a thunderbolt, a mace, a snake (may be a purse even), a disc, a bow, and the *abhaya-mudrā* in her surviving hands. At each side of the goddess appears a devotee, much defaced, with hands folded in supplication. On lowermost part of the throne, in two recessed registers, are harboured four figures of the worshippers, two in each, with folded hands and also with offerings.

The most striking feature of the present image is the rendering of two goddesses, seated in *lalitāsana*, on two sides of the *dharmacakra*. The two-armed goddess, sitting to right, has lost her right hand but with left she holds a long-stalked lotus. She sits on a lotus seat with its stems being delineated below. The goddess may be identified with Lakṣmī who undoubtedly has enjoyed a favourable position in Jaina pantheon. The figure on the corresponding left side is much effaced and represents Ambikā, the *Yakṣī* of the 22nd Jina Neminātha. Ambikā rides a lion and holds a *ghaṇṭa* topped by a trident in her right hand while with the left she supports a child seated in her lap and touching her bosom. Behind the heads of these goddesses are depicted prominent garland-like motif forming aureoles. It may be pointed out here that the rendering of the two goddesses flanking the *dharma-cakra* was an innovation on the part of the artist, which probably suggests relatively favoured position enjoyed by Ṛṣabhanātha. The association of Cakreśvarī, Ambikā and Lakṣmī, the three most popular Jaina goddesses,with the Jina thus establishes an excelled status of Ṛṣabhanātha, among all the twenty-four Jinas.

Our notion is further strengthened by the evidence of two other images of Ṛṣabhanātha likewise representing the figures of Ambikā, Cakreśvarī and Lakṣmī. In one instance, now preserved in the old Archaeological Museum, Khajurāho (Jardin Mus., Acc. No. 1651), Cakreśvarī and Ambikā, are carved on two sides of the *dharmacakra*,and unlike our figure a goddess with lotuses in two upper hands, undoubtedly representing Lakṣmī, is also shown at left corner of the throne. The shift in the position of Lakṣmī is because in the former example, from the State Museum, Lucknow, the *Yakṣī* occupies her prescribed position, i. e. left extremity of the throne. The other example with the figures of Ambikā and Cakreśvarī, is known from the Temple No. 4 at Deogarh in Uttar Pradesh. Here *Yakṣī* Ambikā occupies the right recessed corner of the throne, where Gomukha *Yakṣa* ought to have been carved. This shows a departure from the tradition. However, the figure of Lakṣmī is conspicuous by its absence in the Deogarh image. On the strength of above three instances, it may be observed here that the occurrence of such goddesses on the thrones of Jina images was seemingly confined to the Ṛṣabhanātha images and that even to the images from Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh. The fact that Ṛṣabhanātha was accorded the most favoured position in the list of the twenty-four Jinas, represented as they are in art, is further reinforced by the statistical study of the iconic data spread over some of the prolific Jaina sites, such as the Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, Mathura and Deogarh in U. P., Khajurāho in M. P. and Akoṭā near Baroda in Gujarat; where the frequency of the Ṛṣabhanātha images is relatively much higher than the other favoured Jinas, like Pārśvanātha, Supārśvanātha and Mahāvīra.

The Jina is attended, on two sides, by a pair of standing male figures, wearing such rich jewellery as tall decorated *mukuṭa*, ear-rings, necklace, armlets, bracelets, *upavīta*, waist-band, *dhotī*, and carrying a flywhisk, held above the shoulder, by one hand, while the other hand is resting on thigh. Above the *cāmaradhara* figure, on each side, there appear two pairs of diminutive Jina figures, one above the other. Each Jina figure seated on a cushion with halo and two drooping leaves, suggesting *aśoka* tree, has suffered damage. The heads of the Jina figures in the upper pairs are completely damaged along with the upper *parikara* of the image. As a result of the *parikara* being damaged, only the lower half of the ornamental nimbus of the Jina is now extant. It consists of (from centre outwards) a band filled with dots, foliated scroll with a dotted band and a band flanked by beaded rows.

On the basis that no sign of drapery hanging below the folded legs of the Jina is visible, as has generally been the case with the seated Jina figures of the Śvetāmbara sect, the image may be deemed to have been a product of the Digambara sect, supported also by the fact that the images yielded by Uttar Pradesh are invariably the cognate products. The disciplined body of the Jina indicates deep meditation, while half-shut eyes evince inward look, which is achieved only after the passions are burnt in the fire of knowledge (*kevala-jñāna*). The image can safely be assigned to the 11th century A. D. on the basis both of style and iconography.

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AN IMAGE OF NEMINĀTHA FROM DEOGARH

The prolific Jaina site at Deogarh, situated in the Lalitpur District of Uttar Pradesh, yielded a vast amouut of archaeological material ranging in date from the ninth century (*saṁvat* 919=A. D. 862) to the 12th century A. D. The number of the images, exclusively the product of the Digambara sect lies some where between 1000 and 1100[1]. The present image of Neminātha, enshrined in the Temple No.2, is a solitary instance at the site, which renders him with Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva and Balarāma, his cousin brothers[2]. The image, fashioned in the red sandstone and measuring 55"x20",is attributable to the 10th century A.D. on stylistic grounds (Fig. 14).

Jina, wearing the *śrīvatsa* mark, stands as sky-clad in the *kāyotsarga-mudrā* on a *siṁhāsana,* now badly damaged but some portion of the two lions supporting the throne being still extant. The two recessed corners of the throne are occupied by the figures of two-armed *Yakṣa* (right) and *Yakṣī* (left), seated in *lalitāsana.* Both the figures similarly show the *abhaya-mudrā* with right hand and a *mātuliṅga* (fruit) in the corresponding left. Further above, close to the feet of the Jina, sit two kneeling devotees with folded hands, now severely mutilated. Jina is flanked by two haloed attendants standing as they are in *tribhaṅga.* Each attendant, wearing tall decorated headdress, necklace, *upavīta,* scarf, bracelets, ear-pendants, and *dhotī,* bears a flywhisk, resting on shoulder, in inner hand, while the outer hand is resting on thigh.

Above the *cāmaradharas* are sculptured the figures of Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva, standing on brackets. The two-armed figure of Balarāma, provided with a five- hooded cobra overhead, stands in the *tribhaṅga* pose on right of the Jina. He holds a fruit in the right hand and a plough in the left. His hair is dressed in flattened manner with a bump on back. The four-armed figure of Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva, wearing a *kirīṭamukuṭa* and standing in the *samabhaṅga* pose on left flank, carries a conch and a disc in his right hands, while the left ones show a disc (?) and a mace. Although the cognizance of the Jina is lost with the broken portion of the throne, yet the representation of Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva with the Jina is enough to identify the Jina with Neminātha. The instances exhibiting Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva with Neminātha are also known from Mathura in U.P.,and Vimala Vasahī and Lūṇa Vasahī at Mt. Ābū in Rajasthan (Fig. 15). Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva were incorporated in Jaina pantheon as cousin brothers of Neminātha. To prove the superiority of Neminātha over Kṛṣṇa a situation for the trial of strength between the two was also created in Jaina versions of Kṛṣṇa stories in which Neminātha emerged victor[3].

Further up, above the figures of Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva, there appears on each side a standing male figure holding a pitcher for anointing the Jina. At each top side is carved a somewhat mutilated couple of hovering figures surrounded by cloud. Male bears a garland while female shows a flywhisk. Behind the head of the Jina is rendered a nimbus composed of lotus petals and a beaded circle. Over the head of Jina is a triple parasol topped by a disembodied figure beating a drum, now much mutilated. The hair of the Jina is done in spirals with short lateral strands and a small *uṣṇīṣa*. The mūlanāyaka holds lotuses in both of his hanging hands, which was indeed a recurring feature of the early mediaeval Jina images.

Foot-notes

(1) Bruhn, Klaus, *The Jina-Images of Deogarh*, Leiden, 1969, Introduction.

(2) The photograph published by Bruhn (fig. 197, Image No. 235) illustrates only the portion above the knees of Neminātha and that too is not much clear. As to the image Bruhn just writes, "A strange feature is the representations of Balarāma and of a Viṣṇu-like figure to the left and to the right of the Jina (ibid, p. 163).

(3) See, Tiwari, Maruti Nandan Prasad, 'Jaina Sāhitya aur Śilpa meñ Kṛṣṇa', (Hindi), *Kādambinī* (Monthly Publication of Hindustan Times), Oct. 1972, pp. 82-87.

AN IMAGE OF MAHĀVĪRA IN THE BHARAT KALA BHAVAN, VARANASI

The Jaina collection of the Bharat Kala Bhavan at Varanasi includes a splendid Gupta period Jina image (Acc. No. 161), which is perhaps the second earliest-known Jina image showing the cognizance. The sculpture, hewn out of the buff coloured sandstone and measuring 56"×42", is peeled off at different places. The provenance of the image is Varanasi.

The Jina is seated cross-legged in *dhyāna-mudrā* with hands laid in the lap and palms facing upwards. He sits on a simple pedestal, below which is rendered a huge *Viśvapadma*, now much effaced, extended down to the *dharmacakra*. The chest of the Jina is marked with the *śrīvatsa* symbol, very much obliterated. The hair disposed in schematic curls shows an *uṣṇīṣa*. An elliptical nimbus, unlike the Jina images of the Gupta age from Mathurā and other places, does not show any carving. The disciplined body of the Jina indicates deep meditation, while half-shut eyes evince inward look. The expression is highly suggestive of the supreme knowledge (*kevala-jñāna*) attained after complete victory over passions. The image showing other Gupta characteristics can, on stylistic grounds, be dated to the fifth century A D. As compared with the Gupta image of Neminātha from Rājgir (Vaibhāra hill)[1] and other Gupta sculptures from Mathura (Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā), the present image, in no way, can be placed after the fifth century A. D.

The Jina is attended on either side by a male figure holding a flywhisk, kept on the shoulder, in the outer hand and a lotus in the inner one. The figures, wearing a turban-like head-dresses, are embellished with necklaces, ear-rings, armlets, bracelets and waist-bands. On each side of the halo there appears a hovering figure of celestial being. The right-hand figure holds a garland while the figure on the corresponding left bears some indistinct object. These figures show typical Gupta head-dresses.

On the lowermost part of the pedestal, in the centre, is carved a *dharmacakra* flanked by two lions, sitting and facing the *dharmacakra*. At the two extremities of the pedestal, the usual place for portraying two lions, suggesting *siṁhāsana*, are sculptured two small Jina figures seated in *dhyāna-mudrā*. It should be noted that the flanking lions of the present image do not represent *siṁhāsana*. The two lions supporting the throne, on the contrary, are invariably rendered in the Gupta Jina figures at the two extremities of the pedestal. Hence, the two lions, flanking the *dharmacakra*, in the present instance, undoubtedly represent the cognizance of the Jina. The practice of carving the, distinguishing emblems of the Jinas on two sides of the *dharmacakra* was of course, prevalent during the Gupta period. The flanking lions, standing for the lion cognizance of the twenty-fourth Jina Mahāvīra, thus make the identification of the image with Mahāvīra doubtless.[2] The prevalence of the same practice is revealed by another Jina image from Varanasi, belonging to the late sixth or early seventh century A. D. The image representing Ajitanātha, the second Jina, shows two elephants, his cognizance, standing and facing each other. The image is now preserved in the State Museum, Lucknow (Acc. No. 49.199).[3]

However, one more Gupta sculpture showing such practice is known from Rājgir.[4] The image bearing a mutilated inscription in the Gupta character refers to Chandragupta (evidently Chandragupta-II-c. 375-413 A. D. of the Gupta dynasty) and represents the twenty-second Jina, Neminātha. Here Jina's cognizance, conch, is carved on the two sides of the *dharmacakra*,[5] represented in the form of *Cakrapuruṣa*. The image, like the figure under discussion, shows two small Jina figures on the pedestal. The representation of the two small Jina figures on the pedestal of the Jina images of the Gupta period is also noticed in two other instances hailing from Mathura. Of these, one is deposited in the State Museum, Lucknow (Acc. No. J 121) while the other is in the Archaeological Museum, Mathura.

The importance of the present image of Mahāvīra, as pointed out earlier, lies in the fact that it is, perhaps, the second earliest-known Jina image showing the introduction of the recognising symbols of the Jinas. It also bears testimony to the prevalence of early practice of showing Jina's cognizance on the two sides of the *dharmacakra*.

Foot-notes

(1) Chanda, Ramaprasad, 'Jain Remains at Rajgir', *Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India*, 1925-26, pp. 125-26; Shah, U. P., *Studies in Jaina Art*, Varanasi, 1955, p. 14.

(2) U. P. Shah has also identified this image with Mahāvīra. See, 'A Few Jaina Images in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi', *Chhavi : Golden Jubilee Vol.*, Varanasi 1971, p. 234. He writes. "The preference of the lions instead of the deer facing the *dharmacakra* is noteworthy as this shows the early practice of carving the cognizance of a Jina on two sides of the wheel. Thus this image represents the Tīrthaṅkara Mahāvīra..."

(3) Sharma, R. C., 'Jaina sculptures of the Gupta age in the State Museum, Lucknow,' *Shrī Mahāvīra Jaina Vidyālaya Golden Jubilee Vol.*, Bombay, 1968, Eng. Sect. p. 155; Fig 11.

(4) It is the earliest-known image of Jina showing the emblem.

(5) Two other images of Ṛṣabhanātha from Rājgir also show the same practice. These images have been published by Ramaprasad Chanda, *op cit.*, pp.121-27. In one image of about eighth century the cognizance bull is carved on two sides of the *dharmacakra*, facing each other (Pl. LVI, fig. d). The other example of about 12th century evinces the bull cognizance at two extremities of the pedestal, instead of being on two sides of the *dharmacakra* (Pl. LVIII, fig. 2). The Sonabhaṇḍāra cave (Rājgir) also contains the sculptures of Ajitanātha and Mahāvīra with their respective cognizances-elephant and lion-carved on two sides of *dharmacakra*.

AN UNPUBLISHED TRI-TĪRTHIKA JINA IMAGE FROM DEOGARH

Deogarh (Lalitpur, U. P.) has yielded a large number of separate Jina images representing them in two customary postures, namely, the *kāyotsarga-mudrā* and the *dhyāna-mudrā*. The Jina images at the site also include the *dvi-tīrthika*, *tri-tīrthika*[1] and the *Caumukha* figures. We may note here in passing that we could find only eleven out of the twenty-four Jinas in Deogarh collections[2]. Besides the Jina images, an adequate number of *Yakṣī* figures are also scattered over the site[3]. The collective rendering of the series of the 24 *Yakṣīs*, considered to be the earliest-known representation of the 24 *Yakṣīs*, finds depiction on the exterior wall of the Temple No. 12 (862 A.D.). Moreover, a sufficient number of separate figures of Cakreśvarī, Rohiṇī,Ambikā, Padmāvatī and Siddhāyikā, respectively the *Yakṣīs* of *Ṛṣabhanātha*, Ajitanātha, Neminātha, Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra, are also available at the site.

Here we shall discuss *tri-tīrthika* Jina image representing the three most popular Jinas—Neminātha, Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra, respectively the twenty-second, twenty-third and twenty-fourth Jinas at the site. The image, fashioned in the buff sandstone, is incorporated in the northern enclosure wall of the Temple No. 12. It is assignable to the 11th century A. D. The image, somewhat mutilated, exhibits three Jinas with identical iconographic details except for the rendering of their cognizances.

Each of the three Jinas is shown as sky-clad and standing in the *kāyotsarga-mudrā* on a carpet spread over the *siṁhāsana*, supported by two lions. The lions, in each case, are represented with their backs and necks turned towards each other. The two lions, in each instance, are intervened by a *dharmacakra* over which hangs a covering cloth with the respective emblems of the Jinas. On the strength of these cognizances, starting from the right (from viewer's standpoint), the Jinas can be identified with Neminātha (with conch), Pārśvanātha (with snake) and Mahāvīra (with lion). The figure of Pārśvanātha is also provided with the seven-hooded cobra overhead.

Each Jina, marked with a *śrīvatsa* symbol on the chest, has his hair done in small curls with a protuberance. Excepting Pārśvanātha, who has snake canopy, the other two Jinas are provided with plain aureoles. The Jinas, in each case, are flanked by a pair of standing male attendants, bedecked in usual jewelleries and carrying a flywhisk held above the shoulder in one hand. Close to the feet of each Jina there occur two adorers with their hands folded in *namaskāra-mudrā*. Over the head of each Jina is carved a *chatra-trayī* topped by a prostrate figure beating a drum and joined by a pair of hovering *māladharas*. The *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* figures are conspicuous by their absence.

Foot-notes

(1) Some of the *tri-tīrthika* Jina images of Deogarh contain the figures of Sarasvatī and Bāhubalī.

(2) Ṛṣabhanātha, Ajitanātha, Sambhavanātha, Abhinandana, Padmaprabha, Supārśvanātha, Candraprabha, Śāntinātha, Neminātha, Pārśvanātha, Mahāvīra.

(3) However, the concrete manifestations of the *Yakṣas* were not popular at the site and only a few scultptures of Gomukha and Kubera (or Sarvānubhūti) *Yakṣas* are available at the site.

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A UNIQUE TRI-TĪRTHIKA JINA IMAGE FROM DEOGARH

The present *tri-tīrthika* Jina image from Deogarh is a solitary instance at the site[1] which depicts Sarasvatī along with three Jinas.[2] The image, fashioned in buff sandstone, is incorporated in the western exterior wall of the Temple No. 1.[3] It is attributable to the late 11th century A. D. (Fig. 35). The representation of Sarasvatī with the Jinas may be interpreted as its sculptor's inclination to put Sarasvatī's status as honourable as that of the Jinas. It may be noted that at Deogarh similar attempts were made in the case of Bāhubalī,[4] Bharata *Cakravartī* and Jaina *Āchāryas*, who are all rendered with the Jina figures.[5] The idea which might have given some impetus in portraying Sarasvatī with the Jinas in the present *tri-trīthika* image was, perhaps, to show simultaneously with the Jinas the symbolic representation of their preaching[6] (or so to say the Jaina literature) in the form of a manuscript invariably held by Sarasvatī.[7] It may be underlined that as Śrutadevatā, Sarasvatī is said to have presided over the preaching of the Jinas.[8]

The present image represents three Jinas with similar details, two on its front and the third one on its left side face (facing north). However, the accessory details, including cognizance, of the third Jina figure (on north face) are somewhat hidden under the plaster. Each of the three sky-clad Jinas is represented in the *kāyotsarga-mudrā* on a separate carpet spread over the *siṁhāsana*, supported by two lions. The lions, in each case, are shown with their backs and necks turned towards each other and one paw raised. The two lions, in each case, are separated by a *dharmacakra* over which hangs a covering cloth from the pedestal with the respective cognizances of the Jinas. On the testimony of these emblems, only two frontal Jinas can be identified as the second and the third Jina, namely, Ajitanātha (with elephant) and Sambhavanātha (with horse). Each Jina, with a *śrīvatsa* mark on the chest, has a plain nimbus behind the head. The hair of the Jinas,arranged in small curls, shows a small *uṣṇīṣa* Each Jina is attended, on two sides, by a pair of standing male *cāmaradharas* wearing usual ornaments and carrying a flywhisk held above the shoulder by one hand while other hand is resting on the thigh. Close to the feet of each Jina there appear two worshippers with hands folded in supplication. Over the head of each Jina is rendered a triple parasol topped by a disembodied figure beating a drum and flanked by two hovering figures of the *malādharas*.

At the right extremity of the image, beside the figure of Ajitanātha, is depicted the figure of four-armed Sarasvatī, standing in the *tribhaṅga* pose on a simple pedestal. She is endowed with a halo and a flying *malādhara*-figure at left top side. Close to her feet sit somewhat mutilated figures of two devotees with folded hands. In conformity with the Digambara texts her peacock *vāhana* has been sculptured beneath the pedestal.[9] She bears a rosary (*akṣamālā*) and a lotus (*chatra-padma*) respectively in her upper right and left hands, while her lower right and left show the *varada-mudrā* (boon-conferring gesture) and a manuscript (*pustaka*). Regarding the attributes held by Sarasvatī, it is surprising to note that as against the Digambara *dhyānas*, the figure corresponds to the injunction of a Śvetāmbara text—the *Nirvāṇakalikā* of Pādalipta Sūri (*c.* 10th-11th century A. D.)—which envisages the *varada* and a *padma* in right hands, and a manuscript and a rosary in left,[10] though the emblems in the hands of our image are juxtaposed. Sarasvatī, wearing *sārī* and bodice, is decked with the *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa*, necklace with pendants, *stanahāra*, ear-pendants, girdle with suspended festoons, armlets and bracelets.

Foot-notes

(1) Klaus Bruhn in his work *The Jina-Images of Deogarh,* Leiden, 1969, has not alluded to the present image.

(2) Instances of Jina images containing a tiny figure of Sarasvatī on the *parikara* are known but the representation of Sarasvatī, in the same size as that of Jina figures, in the *tri-tīrthika* Jina image has not been known earlier. To that extent the present image could be considered unique amongst all the known Jina images from all over the country.

(3) Since Temple No. 1 is not properly restored, all the images on its walls are exposed to the weather. Hence the present sculpture, like others, is encrusted with moss.

(4) The details are mentioned in my paper A *Note on Some Bāhubalī Images from North India, East and West,* Vol, 23, Nos. 3-4, pp. 347-53.

(5) The Jaina canonical literature, however, does not allude to such representations. All these representations, suggesting artists' innovations, are, to the best of our knowledge, limited to the Jaina site at Deogarh.

(6) *Tvamasi ca Jinavāṇī sveṣṭamuktyaṅga mukhyā/tadiha tava padābjambhūribhaktyaṁ namāmaḥ // iti Śrutadevī stavanaṁ paṭhitvā pratimopari puṣpāñjaliṁ kṣipet // Pratiṣṭhātilakam 17 Parva*, p. 762. (composed by Nemicandra—1543; No information printed in regard to the editor, place and year of publication).

(7) Popularity of symbolic representation of the preaching of Jinas at Deogarh is further evidenced by a number of figures of the Jaina *Āchāryas* (about forty figures) showing invariably the *vyākhyāna-mudrā* and a manuscript in their hands. The Jaina *Āchāryas* are represented either in independent figures, or with Jinas or with *Caumukha* Jina figures, where they occupy either one or two of its faces. The popularity of the Jaina *Āchāryas* is significant inasmuch as their representation always with a manuscript symbolises the preaching of the Jinas. It

may be noted that perhaps nowhere else the Jaina *Āchāryas* were accorded so honourable a status as at Deogarh.

(8) It may be presumed that to popularise the symbolic representation of literature, the necessity of visualizing the concrete form of Sarasvatī with manuscript was felt in the Kushāṇa period, which is evidenced by an image of Sarasvatī of the Kushāṇa age (132A.D.), housed in the State Museum, Lucknow (Acc. No. J. 24). This is the earliest-known image of Sarasvatī among all the creeds, See J. P. Jain, "Genesis of Jaina Literature and the Saraswati Movement", *Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology in U. P.* (Lucknow), No. 9, June 1972, pp. 30-33.

(9) *Indrādadhaśca Oṁ hrīṁ mayūravāhinyai namaḥ iti vāgadhidevatāṁ sthāpayet/ Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra* of Āśādhara, 6. p. 132. See U. P. Shah, 'The Iconography of the Jain Goddess Sarasvatī', *Journal University of Bombay*, Vol. X (N. S.) Pt. 2; Sept. 1941, pp. 205-06.

(10) *Śrutadevatāṁ Śuklavarṇāṁ haṁsavāhanāṁ caturbhujāṁ varadakamalānvitadakṣiṇakarāṁ pustakākṣamālānvitavāmakarāṁ ceti/*

Nirvāṇakalikā, p. 37.

(ed. by Mohanlal Bhagvandas, *Muni Sri Mohanlal Jaina Granthamālā* : 5, Bombay, 1926).

III

YAKṢĪS

THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE JAINA YAKṢĪ SIDDHĀYIKĀ

Yakṣas and *Yakṣīs* constituting a class of semi-divine beings of Jaina pantheon are technically known as *Śāsanadevatās*, guardian deities of the order. They figure in Jaina pantheon as the subsidiary deities. According to the Jaina belief, Indra appoints a *Yakṣa* and a *Yakṣī* to serve as attendants upon every Jina. Thus they are mainly the attendant spirits regarded as devotees of the Jinas. In Jaina representations they possess attributes semi-divine, and also symbolic meaning of various kinds. On the basis of the literary and sculptural evidence, we may surmise that sometime in eighth-ninth century A. D. the pairs of *Śāsanadevatās* for the twenty-four Jinas were evolved.[1] But their detailed and individual iconography could be settled only in the 11th-12th century A. D. One of the earliest instances of the collective representations of *Yakṣīs* is known from the Temple No. 12 at Deogarh (862 A. D). At Deogarh the idea of associating a *Yakṣī* with each of the twenty-four Jinas with different appellations could only be manifested, but their independent iconography was not yet settled, except for Ambikā, a *Yakṣī* of longer tradition. Several of the *Yakṣīs* in Deogarh series bear direct influence of the Śvetāmbara Mahāvidyās whose tradition was certainly older than the *Śāsanadevatās*.

It may be underlined here that despite the fact that all the iconographic texts from c. 11th century onwards treat of the iconographic forms of the twenty-four *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* pairs, the independent forms of only Gomukha-Cakreśvarī (of Ṛṣabhanātha), Sarvānubūti or Kubera-Ambikā (of Neminātha) and Dharaṇendra-Padmāvatī (of Pārśvanātha) could be incarnated in art. Sometimes *Śāsanadevatās* of Supārśvanātha, Candraprabha, Śāntinātha and Mahāvīra also possess independent iconographic forms. The *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* pairs associated with all other Jinas generally show identical features with very few exceptions exhibiting iconographic peculiarities.

The images of Siddhāyikā, the *Yakṣī* of the 24th Jina Mahāvīra, available from different parts of India, are generally noticed as part of the sculpture of Jina Mahāvīra. In all such examples her prominent symbols are lion mount and a book just as a citron. Her separate images are rather rarer in Northern India but in South India, especially in the Tamil country, she enjoyed much popularity and prominence. After Ambikā, the *Yakṣī* of the 22nd Jina Neminātha, Siddhāyikā was the only deity to receive great reverence and devotion in Tamilnadu. There is a bulk of iconographical and also epigraphical evidence to show that in the Tamil country, the *Yakṣī* was accorded an independent status and raised to a very superior position, almost equal to that of the Jina. In some instances the worship of *Yakṣī* appears to have superseded and overshadowed even that of Jina himself.[2] Most examples of Siddhāyikā image evince a departure from canonical injunctions in regard to her attributes and number of arms, which was either a mistake on the part of the sculptors or there existed some other iconographical text in that area, according to which the images may have been fashioned, but now lost.

Siddhāyikā on the basis of the textual descriptions seems to have been worshipped mainly in two varieties of form, namely, the two-armed and the four-armed, though her six-armed and twelve-armed varieties are also known.

The two-armed variety of goddess seems to be favoured only by the Digambaras as her iconography is enunciated only in the Digambara texts. *Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra* of Āśādhara (A. D *1200-1250*)[3] describes the two-armed *Yakṣī* as having gold colour and sitting on a *bhadrāsana*, and holding a book and one arm in *varada-mudrā*, boon conferring gesture. Her mount is lion. On the other hand, the *dhyānas* enjoined by *Pratiṣṭhāsārasaṁgraha*[4] and *Pratiṣṭhātilakam*[5] mentioning similar feature, do not refer to her *vāhana*, lion. T. N. Ramachandran gives a two-armed Digambara variety of the *Yakṣī* which is from the laudatory verses recited in Canerese by the temple priest at Jina Kāñchī. In the verse, she is represented as seated in *lalita*-pose with *haṁsa* as *vāhana* and bearing *abhaya-mudrā* in right hand. Her left hand is hanging down.[5A] A non-Jaina text the *Aparājitapṛcchā* of Bhuvandeva (c. 12th century A. D.)[6] prescribes *abhaya-mudrā*, safety bestowing gesture, instead of *varada-mudrā* in one of her hands.

Both *Nirvāṇakalikā* of Pādaliptācarya (c. 10th-11th century A. D.)[7] and the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra* of Hemacandra (c. mid 12th centuryA. D.)[8] describe four-armed goddess as having green complexion and riding on a lion. In the *Nirvāṇakalikā* she is said to hold a citron and an arrow in her two left arms and a book in the third and the fourth being in *abhaya-mudrā*. But according to *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra*, she bears a *vīṇā* in one of her left hands. One other text, the *Ācāradinakara* of Vardhamāna Sūri (A. D. 1412)[9], in contradistinction with the above-noted description in regard to her attributes, envisages a noose and a lotus in her left hands. According to the descripion afforded by *Caturviṁśati Jinacaritra* of Amaracandra Sūri (c. 13th century A. D), she rides over an elephant instead of a lion. The *Devatā-Mūrti Prakaraṇa*[10] and the *Rūpamaṇḍana*[11] of Sūtradhāra Maṇḍana (c. 15th century A. D.) agree in their descriptions and conceive the *Yaksī* with four-arms and lion as mount. The emblems held by her are a book, the *abhaya-mudrā*, an arrow and a citron.

A solitary *dhyāna* of the six-armed Siddhāyikā is prescribed in the *Mantrādhirājakalpa* of Sāgara Candra Sūri (date disputed : V. S. 1197; V. S. 1226; 15th century).[12] She is here visualized as bearing a *pustaka*, the *abhaya-mudrā*, the *varada-mudrā*, a sharp-edged weapon (*kharāyudha*), a *vīṇā* and a fruit.

A two-armed image of Siddhāyikā standing in *tribhaṅga* and assignable to the ninth century A. D. (862), is carved on the wall of the Temple No. 12 at Deogarh.[13] The *Yakṣī* represented with Vardhamāna is called Aparājitā and shows a bud-like object in her left hand, while the right is resting on thigh. Her *vāhana* is not shown. A two-armed figure of the goddess, evidently of Digambara origin, was noticed by B. C. Bhattacharya on the Pillar near the western gate in the Deogarh Fort.[14] The Vāgīśvarī figure regarded locally as Hindu, seems Jaina *Yakṣī* Siddhāyikā.

A solitary instance of independent rendering of the four-armed Siddhāyikā was noticed by the author at Khajurāho. The figure, carved on the right extremity of a door-lintel, incorporated in the Modern Jaina Temple No. 24, is attributable to the 11th century A.D. Here Siddhāyikā sits in *lalitāsana* with a lion carved below her feet, and bears a sword and a shield respectively in her right and left upper hands, while the lower right and left ones show the *varada-mudrā* and a water-vessel (hanging). An exact replica of the above figure was noticed by the author at Deogarh also. The diminutive figure of Siddhāyikā is sculptured on left corner of the western door-lintel of the Temple No. 5. The *Yakṣī*, sheltered in a pillared niche, sits in *lalita*-pose with lion carved alongside.

In the sculptures hailing from South India, the *Yakṣī* is invariably shown with two arms and standing as she always does to the proper right of the Jina instead of the left. At a small distance from Ānandamaṅgalam, sculptures carved on the rock of a hilloc near the village of Kāñcī,[15] is another group where two-armed Siddhāyikā is portrayed standing by the right side of Jina. Her right arm rests over the waist but the upraised left one holds an object which seems a fruit (citron ?). Next, inside the cave on the hill called Pañcapāṇḍavamalai in North Arcot District[16] is carved the sculpture of a female divinity in prominence, seated as she is on a raised platform. By her side are four devotee figures. A Tamil inscription of about the eighth century A. D. incised on the rocky face of the cave, informs that a devotee Nāraṇam had the image of Ponniyakkiyār carved. Ponniyakkiyār is the Tamil expression for golden *Yakṣī* who might be identified as Siddhāyikā, known as she is for her golden lustre. On the Anaimalai Hill, six miles towards the east of Madurā,[17] can be seen the image of a two-armed *Yakṣī* seated on a pedestal and being attended by Gaṇadharas. Her right foot is dangling down and the left one rests on the pedestal. In the palm of her raised right hand she bears a fruit, and the left one is resting on her lap. She may be Siddhāyikā. A similar representation is delineated on Seṭṭipodavu Hill near Kilakkuḍi, a village in Madurā taluk.[18] All these sculptures, on stylistic and inscriptional grounds, may be dated between the eighth and the tenth centuries A. D.

Regarding the identification of all the figures of Siddhāyikā from South, reefrred to above, it may be said that her representation in association with a Jina undoubtedly proves that she is a *Yakṣī*. A few other separate figures, possessing similar attributes, should also be taken to represent the same *Yakṣī*. It is well known that in the series of twenty-four *Yakṣīs* rendering of only four, namely, Cakreśvarī, Ambikā, Padmāvatī and Siddhāyikā, was given the highest prominence and consequently others were incarnated but rarely. As the above figures have not been endowed with any of the attributes associated with Cakreśvarī (disc, *garuḍa* mount), Ambikā (*āmralumbi* and a child, lion as *vāhana*) and Padmāvatī (goad and noose, snake canopy, *kukkuṭa-sarpa* as conveyance), the *Yakṣī* can safely be taken to represent the only remaining *Yakṣī* Siddhāyikā.

A bronze image of Mahāvīra, assignable to the ninth century A. D., comes from Karañjā in Akola District[19] and represents Siddhāyikā standing as she is on a separate pedestal. The four-armed deity carries an axe, a lotus-flower, a citron and a flower (?). In an image of Mahāvīra, harboured in a niche on the southern facade of the sanctum of the Mālā Devī Temple (late ninth century A. D.) at Gyaraspur, in the Vidisha District of Madhya Pradesh, the two-armed *Yakṣī* Siddhāyikā, seated in *lalitāsana*, is rendered at the left corner of throne. She holds a *vīṇā* in her both arms. Another image of Mahāvīra, deposited in the Reserve Collection of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer (Acc. No. 279, inscribed in *saṁvat* 1061=1004 A.D.), contains the figure of two-armed *Yakṣī* Siddhāyikā at the left extremity of throne. Here she rides over a lion and bears a sword in right hand, while the left one is broken off. Two twelfth-century figures of Mahāvīra, housed in the Reserve Collection of the State Museum, Lucknow (Acc. Nos. J. 808, J. 782), contain the figures of two-armed Siddhāyikā at their throne ends. In both the figures showing identical details, Siddhāyikā bears the *abhaya-mudrā* in right and a *kalaśa* in the left.

In the images of Mahāvīra coming from Khajurāho Siddhāyikā is carved both as possessing two and four arms. In three instances, the two-armed Siddhāyikā is shown with the *abhaya-mudrā* in right hand and either a fruit or a blossom in the left. In three other examples, Siddhāyikā, seated in *lalitāsana* with a lion below her feet, possesses four-hands. First image, installed in the Modern Jaina Temple No. 2 (inscribed in *saṁvat* 1149=1092 A. D.), exhibits Siddhāyikā as bearing a disc and a fruit in her upper and lower right hands, while the corresponding ones carry respectively a lotus and a conch. Second example, lying in the Open Air Museum (No. K. 17), adjacent to the Ādinātha Temple, shows the same set of symbols with a slight change in respect of disc which is here shown as a ring. However, the lower right hand of Siddhāyikā is mutilated. Third figure, incorporated on the rear wall of the Modern Jaina Temple No. 11 (No. K. 28/1; 11th centuryA. D.), represents her as carrying a sword and a disc in her upper right and left hands. The lower right and left hands show respectively the *varada-mudrā* and a fruit. The rendering of disc and conch with Siddhāyikā suggests the bearing of iconography of Jaina *Yakṣī* Cakreśvarī upon Siddhāyikā.

In majority of the sculptures of Mahāvīra hailing from Deogarh, two-armed Siddhāyikā, seated in *lalitāsanā*, is protrayed as bearing the *abhaya-mudrā* in right hand and a fruit in the left. A *Cauvīsī* of Jinas, all seated with the distinguishing cognizances, *aṣṭaprātihāryas* and *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* pairs, is preserved in the Sāhū Jaina Museum at Deogarh. The *Yakṣī* with Mahāvīra is two-armed and sits in *lalitāsana*. She shows the *abhaya-mudrā* in right hand and a *pustaka* in the left. A Mahāvīra image carved on the exterior of the Temple No. 1 at Deogarh is a solitary example rendering Siddhāyikā with four hands. She bears lotus buds in her upper pair of hands, while lower right and left hands show respectively the *abhaya-mudrā* and a fruit.

A unique example of twenty-armed Siddhāyikā is depicted on the verandah of Bārabhujī cave on the Khaṇḍagiri hill[20] (Puri, Orissa, Fig. 34). The goddess here shows the *varada-mudrā*, a spear, a rosary, an arrow, a small staff (?), a hammer, a *hala* (plough), a *vajra*, a disc and a sword in her right hands while with her left she carries a water-pot, a book, a citron (?), a lotus, a bell (?), a bow, a *nāga*, a *vajra* and a shield. Beneath the figure of Siddhāyikā is sculptured an elephant as conveyance and above her head is carved the figure of Mahāvīra with lion cognizance. The reliefs of the Bārabhujī caves may be dated as late as the 11th-12th century A. D.

Yakṣī Siddhāyikā or Siddhāyinī (as some sources call her) resembles Sarasvatī in some aspects and Jina Mahāvīra himself in the other. Her mount, lion, connects her with the Jina whose cognizance is lion. On the other hand, the manuscript and the *vīṇā*, make her analogous to the Jaina goddess Sarasvatī bearing alike attributes. Her *Yakṣī* character is suggested only by a *mātuliṅga*, citron, symbol invariably represented in the images of the *Yakṣīs* particularly those that belong to Southern tradition

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Foot-notes

(1) Shah, U. P., 'Introductian of Śāsanadevatās in Jaina worship', *Proceedings and Transactions of All India Oriental Conference*, Twentieth Session, Bhuvaneswar, Oct. 1959, Vol. II, Pt. I, Sec. VII, Poona, 1961, pp. 141-52 : According to Shah, "The earliest list of these 24 *Yakṣas* and *Yakṣīs* is obtained from *Abhidhāna-Cintāmaṇi* of Hemachandra and their iconographic forms are given in *Triṣaṣtiśalākāpuruṣacaritra* of the same writer. The only early sets of the different *Yakṣīs* known hitherto come from the Navamuni cave, Orissa (c. 9th century A. D.), and the Temple No. 12, Deogarh Fort, Madhya Pradesh (c. 9th to 10th centuries A. D.)."

(2) Consult, Desai, P. B., *Jainism in South India and Some Jaina Epigraphs*, Sholapur, 1963, p. 71.

(3) Siddhāyikāṁ sapta-kar=occhrit=āṅga-jin=āśrayāṁ pustaka dānahastām /
śritāṁ subhadrāsana-mantra-yajñe hema-dyutiṁ siṁha-gatiṁ yaje' ham//
Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra 3. 178

(4) Siddhāyikā tathā devī dvī-bhujā kanaka-prabhā /
varadāṁ pustakaṁ dhatte subhadrāsanam=āśritā //
Pratiṣṭhāsāra Saṁgraha (Mss. Arrah)
(As quoted by B. C. Bhattacharya)

(5) bibharti yā pustakaṁ iṣṭa-dānaṁ savy=āpa-savyena kara-dvayena /
bhadrāsanam=āśritāṁ-Vardhamānāṁ Siddhāyikāṁ siddhi-karīm yajetām //
Pratiṣṭhātilakam 7. 24.

(5 A) Ramachandran, Ṭ. N., *Tiruparuttikunṛam and its Temples*, Bull. Madras Government Museum, New Series, Vol. I., Pt. 3, Madras, 1934, p 211.

(6) dvi-bhujā kanak=ābhā ca pustakaṁ c=ābhayaṁ tathā /
Siddhāyikā tu kartavyā bhadrāsana samanvitā //
Aparājitapṛcchā 221.38.

(7) Siddhāyikām harita-varṇāṁ siṁha-vāhanāṁ catur-bhujāṁ, pustak=ābhaya-yukta-dakṣiṇa-karāṁ mātuliṅga=bāṇ=anvita-vāma-hastām /
Nirvāṇakalikā 18. 24.

(8) Siddhāyikā tath=otpannā siṁha-yānā hari=c=chāvaḥ /
sa-mātuliṅga-vallakyau vāma-bāhū ca bibhratī //
pustak=ābhaya-dau c=obhau dadhānā dakṣiṇau bhujāu /
Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra 10. 5. 12-13.

(9) siṁha-sthā harit=āṅga-rug-bhuja catuṣkeṇa pra-bhāv=orjita nityaṁ dhārite-
pustak=ābhaya-lasad-vām=ānya-pāṇi-dvayā /
pāś=āmbhoruha-rāji-vāma-kara-bhāga Siddhāyikā siddhidā śrī-saṁghasya
karotu vighna-hāraṇaṁ dev=ārcane saṁsmṛitā //
Ācāradinakara, Pratiṣṭhadhikāra 34. 1.

(10) Siddhāyikā nīla-varṇā siṁh=ārūḍhā catur-bhujā /
pustakaṁ c=ābhayaṁ c=aivaṁ bāṇaṁ syān=mātuliṅgakam //
Devatā-Mūrti Prakaraṇa 7.65.

(11) Siddhāyaka (Siddhāyikā) nīla-varṇā (siddhā ? siṁh=ā) rūḍhāś catur-bhujā /
pustakaṁ c=ābhayaṁ (datte ? dhatte) bāṇaṁ vai mātuliṅgakam //
Rūpamaṇḍana 6. 23.

(12) Siddhārthikā nava-tamāla-dalā=li-nīla-ruk pustikā = bhayaka- (dā) na-kharā=yudhāṅkā /
vīṇā-phalā=ṅkita-bhuja-dvitayā hi bhavyān avyaj jinendra-pada-paṅkaja-baddha-bhaktiḥ //
Mantrādhirājakalpa 3.66.

(13) Sankalia, H. D., 'Jaina Monuments from Deogarh' *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. IX, 1941, p. 104.

(14) Bhattacharya, B. C., *Jaina Iconography*, Lahore, 1939, p. 146.

(15) Desai,P. B., *Jainism*, p. 38.

(16) Desai, P.B 'Yakṣī Images in South Indian Jainism', *Dr. Mirashi Felicitation Volume*, Nagpur, 1965, p. 345.

(17) Desai, P. B., *Jainism South India*, p. 56.

(18) *Ibid.*, p. 57.

(19) Barrett, Douglas, 'A Jain Bronze from the Deccan', *Oriental Art*, Vol. V, No. I (N. S.), 1959, pp. 162-65.

(20) Mitra, Debala, 'Śāsanadevīs in the Khaṇḍagiri Caves', *Journal of Asiatic Society*, Vol. I, No.2, Calcutta, 1959, p. 133; Maulvi, Muhammad Hamid Kuraishi, 'List of Ancient Monuments Protected Under the Act VII of 1904 in the Province of Bihar and Orissa', *Arch. Surv. of India, New Imperial Series*, Vol. L1, Calcutta, 1931, p. 280.

JAINA YAKṢĪ CAKREŚVARĪ AT DEOGARH

Deogarh (Lalitpur, U. P.) has undoubtedly been one of the richest centres of Jaina religious art in India. It has yielded an immense amount of the archaeological material spread over the ninth (862 A.D.) to the 12th century A. D.[1] The Jaina vestiges of Deogarh are exclusively the products of the Digambara sect. Besides the Jina images, a pretty good number of *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* figures are also found at the site. The *Yakṣas* and *Yakṣīs*, constituting a class of semi-divine beings of Jaina creed, are technically known as the *Śāsanadevatās*, guardian deities of the order. Cakreśvarī or Apraticakrā (as some sources call her), the *Yakṣī* of the first Jina Ṛṣabhanātha, has been one of the four most popular *Yakṣīs* of the Jaina pantheon through the ages,[2] and so also at Deogarh.

We may note that the Digambara texts visualize Cakreśvarī only in two varieties of forms, namely, the four-armed and the twelve-armed. According to the *Pratiṣṭhāsārasaṁgraha* of Vasunandi (c. 12th century A. D.) the four-armed Cakreśvarī rides a *garuḍa* (eagle) and bears discs in her two arms, while the rest two show a *matuliṅga* (a fruit) and the *varada-mudrā*.[3] The twelve-armed Cakreśvarī likewise rides over an eagle and holds discs in her eight hands. Of the remaining four hands, two carry *vajras* (thunderbolts) and the other two a fruit and the *varada-mudrā*.

It would be appropriate to note that the four-armed variety of the *Yakṣī* was most popular at Deogarh. Besides, she was represented in the two-armed, six-armed, eight-armed, ten-armed and twenty-armed varieties of forms. Cakreśvarī invariably rides over a *garuḍa*, represented in human form,[4] and holds the disc, conch and mace symbols. In majority of the instances she sits in the *lalita*-pose and wears the *kirīṭa-mukuṭa*,[5] necklaces, *stanahāra*, *dhotī*, bodice, girdle, anklets, bracelets, armlets ete.

The Two-armed Variety—The two-armed Cakreśvarī is represented by two figures, both appended to the 10th century Ṛṣabhanātha images, enshrined in the Temple Nos. 2 and 19. The *Yakṣī* bears a disc and a conch in both the cases.

The Four-armed Variety—The earliest figure of Cakresvarī at Deogarh shows her with four hands. The figure is carved on the facade of the Temple No. 12 (862) in the series of the twenty-four *Yakṣīs*. Cakreśvarī stands in the *samabhaṅga* and holds a disc in each of her four arms. On the left flank of the *Yakṣī* stands an attendant with the flywhisk, while to the corresponding right there occurs the figure of her *garuḍa* mount. Over the head is portrayed the tiny figure of her Jina Ṛṣabhanātha. Of significance in this instance is rendering of the same attribute, disc, in all her four hands which is whereas a transgression of the Digambara prescriptions in the matter, also analogous to rendering of attributes of the Śvetāmbara Mahāvidyā, Cakreśvarī or Apraticakrā.[6] The Mahāvidyā is shown with discs in all her four hands on the facade of the Mahāvīra Temple (c. 8th century A. D.), Osia, District Jodhpur in Rajasthan. The iufluence of the Śvetāmbara Mahāvidyās on some other *Yakṣīs* in the present collective representation at Deogarh has also been noted by the author.

Four other four-armed figures are sculptured on the door-lintels of the Temple Nos. 5, 9, 11 and 12. The instance from the Temple No. 12 is datable to the tenth century A.D. and the remaining to the 1lth century A.D. All the figures exhibit Cakreśvarī as bearing the *abhayamudrā* (or the *varada-mudrā*), a mace, a disc and a conch. Another figure carved on a pillar of the porch of the Temple No. 12 (c. 10th century A.D.) shows the *Yakṣī* with similar attributes, but the *Yakṣī* here stands in the *dvibhaṅga*. Besides the examples referred to above, seven other figures are found on the pillars adjacent to the Temple Nos. 1, 4, 12 and 26. In all the examples, assignable to the 11th-12th centuryA.D., the *Yakṣī* bears the identical symbols.[7] Four other figures with similar attributes are portrayed on the twelfthcentury pillars of the Temple No. 1. We may note here in passing that till the end of tenth century A. D., Cakreśvarī was rendered only in two varieties of forms at Deogarh, i. e. two-armed and four-armed.

The Six-armed Variety—There are two exmples of the six-armed Cakreśvarī at Deogarh, both datable to the 11th century A.D. The first figure is portrayed on the southern enclosure wall of the Temple No. 12. Here the *Yakṣī* rides over a *garuḍa* and bears the *varada-mudrā*, a sword, a disc, a disc, a mace and a conch. The other figure is carved on the throne of a Ṛṣabhanātha image installed in the Temple No. 4. Here the *Yakṣī* holds the *varada-mudrā*. a mace, a disc, a disc, an indistinct symbol and a conch.

The Eight-armed Variety—The eight-armed Cakreśvarī is represented by three sculptures. The first figure datable to the 11th century A. D. is carved on a pillar of the Temple No. 1. The *Yakṣī* betrays the *varada-mudrā*, a mace, an arrow, a ring, a ring, a *vajra*, a bow and a conch. The remaining two figures belonging to the 12th century A.D. are portrayed respectively on the pillars contiguous to the Temple No. 12 and 14. In both the cases, Cakreśvarī is shown in the standing pose with her vehicle *garuḍa* carved nearby. In one example (T. No. 12), she bears a sword the *abhaya-mudrā*, a mace, a disc, a disc, a shield, an axe and a conch. The other figure exhibits Cakreśvarī as carrying a *daṇḍa* (staff), a sword, the *abhaya-mudrā*, a disc, a disc, a disc, an axe, and a conch.

The ten-armed Cakreśvarī is represented by one sculpture, carved on a pillar (1059 A. D.) adjacent to the Temple No. 11. The *Yakṣī* with *kirīṭa-mukuṭa*, rides over garuḍa and shows the *varada-mudrā*, an arrow, a mace, a sword, a disc, a disc, a shield, a thunderbolt, a bow and a conch.

Strangely enough, the twelve-armed variety of the *Yakṣī*, as prescribed by the Digambara texts does not find depiction at Deogarh.

The Twenty-armed Variety.—The twenty-armed Cakreśvarī is represented by three sculptures, datable to the 11th century A. D. In all the examples, *Yakṣī* rides over a *garuḍa*, in human form. Of the three images, two are preserved in the neighbouring Sāhū Jaina Museum, and the remaining one is lying uncared near the Temple No. 2. Only one hand showing a disc is now extant in the last sculpture.

The first image in the Sāhū Jaina Museum has lost thirteen of its hands and in the remaining seven she bears discs (in four hands), the *varada*-cum-rosary, a shield and a conch. She is accompanied by two adorers with folded hands, four flywhisk-bearing female attendants and male figures with lotus. Over the head of the *Yakṣī*, there appears a seated Jina, joined by two standing Jinas. The top *parikara* contains the figures of flying *mālādharas*. There also appear two diminutive figures of four-armed goddesses, seated in *lalitāsana*. The goddess on the right is shaded by three hooded cobra and is identifiable with Padmāvatī, the *Yakṣī* of Pārśvanātha. Padmāvatī holds the *varada-mudrā*, a long-stalked lotus, a long-stalked lotus and a water-vessel. The goddess on the corresponding left with *jaṭā-mukuṭa* is Sarasvatī. She shows a *vīṇā* in two lower hands while the upper hands bear a long-stalked lotus and a manuscript. The other figure in the Sāhū Jaina Museum with all its twenty hands being extant, rides a *garuḍa*, shown with four hands (Fig. 26). The lower two hands of *garuḍa* are folded in *namaskāra-mudrā* while the upper ones support the lotus seat of the *Yakṣī*. The *Yakṣī*, decked with *dhammilla*, bears a disc, a sword, a *tūṇīra* (? quiver); a *mudgara* (club), a disc, a mace, the *vyākhyāna*-cum-rosary, a *paraśu*, a *vajra*, a disc (in two upper hands), a *ghaṇṭa* (with a chain), a shield, a *patākā* (fastened to the staff), a conch, a bow, a disc, a snake, a spear and a disc. At her sides, there occur standing figures of two female attendants, bearing flywhisk in one hand while the other hand is resting on thigh. Over the head of the *Yakṣī*, there appear a tiny figure of seated Jina, accompanied by two standing Jinas, and also two flying *mālādharas*.

From the foregoing it is clear that Cakreśvarī at Deogarh claimed a rich variety of form as compared to Ambikā, the most popular *Yakṣī* at the site, represented in but one form. Cakreśvarī is here endowed with prestigious incorporation of several elements of the sacrosanct Jina images such as adorers, *cāmara*-bearing attendants, flying *mālādharas*, elephants, diminutive Jina figures and above all the two most popular goddesses, Sarasvatī and Padmāvatī.

Foot-notes

(1) The oldest dated inscription at Deogarh is of *saṁvat* 919 (=A. D. 862), incised on one of porch pillars of the Temple No. 12 (known as Śāntinātha Temple). The exterior wall of the temple contains the figures of the 24

Yakṣīs, this being the earliest-known instance of the collective rendering of the 24 *Yakṣīs* at one place.

(2) The other three *Yakṣīs* are Ambikā (of Nemināthа), Padmāvatī (of Pārśvanātha) and Siddhāyikā (of Mahāvīra).

(3) Vāme Cakreśvarīdevī sthāpyadvādaśasadbhujā /
Dhatte hastadvayevajre cakrāṇī ca tathāṣṭasu //
Eken bījapuraṁ tu varadā kamalāsanā /
Caturbhujāthavācakraṁ dvayorgaruḍa vāhanam //

Pratiṣṭhāsārasaṁgraha : 5. 15-16

(Mss. Lalbhai Dalpatbhai Bharatiya Sanskrit Vidya Mandir, Ahmedabad).

(4) However, in two instances carved on a pillar of the Temple No.1, the eagle mount is not shown.

(5) Sometimes, she is also shown with the *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa.*

(6) The Jaina Mahāvidyās, sixteen in number, were accorded the most favoured position in both the sects of the Jainas.

(7) The figure in the Temple No. 4. (1150 A. D.) shows the **Yakṣī with** *vyākhyānamudrā*-cum-rosary in place of the *varada-mudrā.*

JAINA YAKṢĪ AMBIKĀ AT DEOGARH

Ambikā,[1] acknowledged as the *Yakṣī* of the 22nd Jina Neminātha or Ariṣṭanemi, claims a hoary antiquity. On the strength of the literary and the sculptural evidences, it appears that the worship of Ambikā was in vogue in c. sixth century A. D..[2] She occupies the foremost position in the group of the most popular *Yakṣīs* of the Jaina pantheon, they are Cakreśvarī, Ambikā Siddhāyikā and Padmāvatī.[3] Ambikā appears to have enjoyed the most exalted position among all the *Yakṣīs* at Deogarh. She is represented at the site by over fifty sculptures, excluding the small ones carved on the images of the Jinas. As elsewhere, Ambikā figures at Deogarh also lack in variety of iconographic forms. The figures of Ambikā range in date from ninth (862 A. D.) to the 12th century. A. D. The Digambara works invariably visualize Ambikā or Kuṣmāṇḍinī (as some sources call her) as possessing two arms and riding a lion. The *Pratiṣṭhāsārasaṁgraha* invokes Ambik in two varieties of form, namely, the two-armed and the four-armed, but it does not make any reference to the attributes held by her.[4] The *Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra* and the *Pratiṣṭhātilakam* conceive the two-armed *Yakṣī* as riding on a lion and bearing an *āmralumbi* (a bunch of mangoes) and a child (Priyaṅkara by name and seated in lap) in her hands.[5] She rests under a mango-tree and is accompanied by her second son (Subhaṅkara by name) also.[6]

Ambikā at Deogarh is portrayed either as standing or sitting in the *lalitāsana*, the former being of more frequent occurrence. She is represented in two varieties of form, namely, the two-armed and the four-armed, the latter being represented by three sculptures only. Over the head of Ambikā, there invariably appear a tiny figure of Neminātha and the branches of a mango-tree, spread all along. The two-armed Ambikā invariably holds an *āmralumbi* in the right hand while with the left she supports a child, either seated in her lap or standing by her side. Close to Ambikā is carved a lion, her *vāhana*. To the right is generally sculptured the second son of Ambikā, standing and touching the *āmralumbi*. Ambikā sometimes is attended by two flywhisk bearers at the sides and two hovering *mālādharas* at the top.

The two-armed Ambikā in two instances, either carries a lotus in her right hand or it rests on the head of her second. son. Thus the *āmralumbi is* conspicuous by its absence in these figures. These figures, belonging to the 11th century A. D. , are preserved respectively in the Sāhū Jaina Museum, Deogarh and on the enclosure wall (Northern) of the Temple No. 12. In some examples, especially those on the free standing pillars, the second son of Ambikā has not been rendered. Two sculptures, deposited in the Sāhū Jaina Museum, Deogarh, contain the figures of Supārśvanātha and two goddesses (bearing the *abhaya-mudrā*, a lotus, a flywhisk and a *kalaśa* in their hands). The figures of two-armed Ambikā at Deogarh thus mostly correspond with the injunctions of the Digambara texts.

The earliest figure of Ambikā at Deogarh is in the group of the 24 *Yakṣīs*, carved on the facade of the Temple No. 12. (862 A. D.). The four-armed

Ambikā here stands without *vāhana*. She is called in the inscription as 'Ambāyikā,' and bears a flower (or a fruit), a flywhisk, a lotus and a child in her hands. The absence of lion mount and *āmralumbi* are striking.

The two other figures of four-armed Ambikā, assignable to the 11th-12th century A. D. are carved on the free standing pillars, adjacent to the Templ Nos. 11 (1059 A. D.) and 16 (12th century A. D.). Ambikā in the former instance, holds an *āmralumbi*, a goad and a noose in her three hands, while with the remaining one she supports a child holding a fruit. Over her head are carved a small figure of Jina and *āmraśākhā*. Close to her seat, there appears a lion. The other figure with identical features, however, does not contain the figure of her conveyance. The attribute held in her upper right hand is also not discernible. It should be noted here in passing that the rendering of a goad and a noose in two upper hands with the four-armed Ambikā is guided by the prescriptions of the Śvetāmbara texts, which invariably conceive four-armed Ambikā as bearing an *āmralumbi* (or a fruit in *Nirvāṇakalikā*), a noose, a goad and a child in her hands.[7] Such a borrowing, also noticed in figures of some other deities, suggests a welcome trans-sectarian trend prevalent at the site.

The figures of Ambikā where she has been carved as part of the sulpture of Neminātha, always represent her with two arms and bearing an *āmralumbi* and a child in her hands. However in two examples, installed in the Temle Nos, 13 and 24 and attributable to the 11th century A. D., she holds a mango (or a fruit), in place of *āmralumbi*. The lion mount and her second son are rarely shown in such figures.

Foot-notes

(1) Praśāsanāḥ Śāsanadevatāśca yā jinānścaturviṁśatimāsṛtāḥ sadā /
hitāḥ satāmapraticakrayānvitāḥ prayācitāḥ sannihitā bhavantu tāḥ //
Harivaṁśa Purāṇa 66. 43-44.
Also see, *Tiloyapaṇṇaṭṭi* 4.934-39.

(2) Consult, Shah, U. P., 'Introduction of Śāsanadevatās in Jaina Worship', pp.151-52, *Akoṭā Bronzes*, Bomby, 1959, pp. 28-31.

(3) *Rūpamaṇḍana* 6. 25-26.

(4) Devī Kuṣmāṇḍinī yasya siṁhagā haritaprabhā /
caturhastājinendrasya mahābhaktirvirājitāḥ //
dvibhujā siṁhamārūḍhāḍā Āmradevī haritaprabhā /
Pratiṣṭhāsārasaṁgraha 5. 64, 66.

(5) *Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra* 3. 176; *Pratiṣṭhātilakam* 7. 22, p. 347

(6) For details consult, Shah, U. P., 'Iconography of the Jain Goddess Ambikā', *Journal University of Bombay*, Vol. IX, Pt. 2, Sept. 1940, pp. 147-69, Tiwari, Maruti Nandan Prasad, 'Uttara Bhārat men Jaina Yakṣī Ambikā kā Pratimānirūpaṇa', *Sambodhi*, Vol. 3, Nos. 2-3, Dec. 1974, pp. 27-44.

(7) *Nirvāṇakalikā* 18. 22; *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra* 8. 9. 385-86; *Rūpamaṇḍana* 6.19,

YAKṢĪ PADMĀVATĪ AT DEOGARH

There live in the ambience of Deogarh the superhuman Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras, their *Yakṣas* and *Yakṣīs* and others in inanimate stone who have outlived their human creators. The collective manifestation of the 24 *Yakṣīs* on the facade of the Temple No. 12 does not go without arresting one's attention. Padmāvatī, a *Yakṣī*, like all other *Yakṣīs*, is associated as a subordinate deity (*Śāsanadevatā*) with the twenty-third Tīrthaṅkara Pārśvanātha. She enjoyed a favouréd position both in literature and art through the ages. On the merit of the frequency of depiction, Padmāvatī, at Deogarh, comes next to Ambikā and Cakreśvarī. Padmāvatī appears to have some affinity with the Hindu goddess Manasā (also known as Padmā or Padmāvatī), associated with the *Nāga* cult.[1]

The Digambara texts variously enunciate the iconographic features of Padmāvatī. Texts of only this sect have relevance here as Deogarh preserves the vestiges of Digambara sect only. The *Pratiṣṭhāsārasaṁgraha* conceives Padmāvatī in three varieties of form, i. e. the four-armed, the six-armed, and the twenty-four-armed.[2] She invariably sits upon a lotus. The four-armed *Yakṣī* bears a goad, a rosary and a lotus in her three hands.[3] The six-armed *Yakṣī* shows a noose, a sword, a spear, a crescent (*bālendu*), a mace and a pestle (*musala*) in her hands. The twenty-four-armed *Yakṣī* is visualized to have carried a conch, a sword, a disc, crescent (*bālendu*), a lotus, a blue lotus (*utpala*), a bow (*śarāsana*), a *śakti*, a noose, a goad, a *ghaṇṭa*, an arrow, a *musala*, a shield, a *triśūla*, a *paraśu*, a *kunta*, a thunderbolt (? *bhiṇḍa*), a rosary, a mace, the *patra*, the *pallava* and the *varada-mudrā*.[4]

Another text—the *Aparājitapṛcchā* makes the *dhyāna* of the four-armed Padmāvatī, sitting on a lotus with *kukkuṭa* mount.[5] She is conceived as bearing a noose, a goad, a lotus and the *varada-mudrā*. The *Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra* describes the *Yakṣī* as riding over a *kukkuṭa-sarpa* and shaded by three-hooded cobra overhead.[6] She rests on a lotus seat. However, the specific number of her total arms has not been mentioned in the text. It merely envisages the rendering of a goad, a noose, a conch, a lotus, a rosary etc. in her hands. The *Pratiṣṭhātilakam* invokes Padmāvatī without specifying the total number of her arms.[7] The text does not refer to her mount *kukkuṭa-sarpa*. The *Yakṣī* sits on a lotus. She holds a noose etc. in six of her hands and a conch, a sword, a goad, a lotus, a rosary, the *varada-mudrā* etc. in others. From the foregoing, it is clear that Padmāvatī with cobra hoods overhead is associated with *kukkuṭa* or *kukkuṭa-sarpa* as her vehicle. On the testimony of the Digambara works lotus, goad, noose and mace appear as her invariable symbols.

We would classify the figures of Padmāvatī at Deogarh on the merit of varieties, each determined by the number of hands. Padmāvatī was fashioned in three varieties of form, namely, the two-armed, the four-armed and the twelve-armed. It is strange enough to note that her two-armed figures could find depiction only after the conclusion of the 11th century. A.D. We may also note, in passing, that the two-armed and the twelve-armed varieties of the *Yakṣī*, not guided by the known iconographic prescriptions, record the prevalence of some lost tradition at the site. In sculptural manifestations, the *Yakṣī* is shown either as riding over a *kukkuṭa-sarpa* or resting upon a lotus seat. In consonance with the known Digambara prescriptions, Padmāvatī, in majority of the instances, is rendered as carrying a lotus, a mace, a bow, a goad, a noose as her distinct symbols. The *Yakṣī* bedecked in the *dhammilla* (or the *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa*), necklaces, *stanahāra*, bodice, armlets, bracelets girdles, anklets, *dhotī*, etc. is always endowed with the three-or-five-hooded cobra overhead. As against her independent figures, Padmāvatī, when represented as the *Yakṣī* in the images of Pārśvanātha, does not exhibit even the least customary features, viz. the cobra-hoods, the *kukkuṭa-sarpa*, and the *padma*, goad, noose and mace symbols.[8] Of the seven Pārśvanātha images, six depict the *Yakṣī* with two hands while in one (near the rear wall of the Temple No. 12) she possesses four hands.

The two-armed Padmāvatī is represented by two figures. These figures are carved on the pillars respectively of the Temple No. 12 (Southern) and 16. Both the figures portray her with three-headed snake canopy. The first figure in standing pose carries the *varada-mudrā* and a long-stalked lotus. Another figure, seated in *lalitāsana* is endowed with a diminutive Jina figure at its top. The *Yakṣī* bears a flower and a fruit.

The earliest manifestation of Padmāvatī at Deogarh is obtained from the Temple No. 12 (862). The four-armed *Yakṣī* here is portrayed on the exterior wall in the series of the 24 *Yakṣīs*. The *Yakṣī* in standing pose is not endowed with the usual features such as the *kukkuṭa-sarpa* (*vāhana*) and the cobra hoods. Over her head there appears a tiny figure of a seated Jina, understandably Pārśvanātha although not provided with the snake canopy. The *Yakṣī* in the inscription is labelled with the appellation 'Padmāvatī'. She holds the *varada-mudrā*, a spiral lotus, a shield and a water-vessel. However, the figure does not correspond with the known Digambara *dhyānas*, except for the conventional name and the lotus symbol.

Three other figures, datable to the 11th-12th century A. D., are carved on the pillars contiguous to the Temple No. 1. All the figures seated in the *lalita*-pose are provided with the five-headed snake canopy. The first figure shows the *Yakṣī* with a bow, a mace and a noose in her three surviving hands. The mount *kukkuṭa-sarpa* is carved underneath the lotus seat. Close to her feet there occurs the adorers with hands folded in supplication. At top there appears diminutive Jina figures and *makara-toraṇa*-decoration. The remaining two figures (12th century A. D.) portray the *Yakṣī* as sitting on a lotus seat and carrying the *varadra-mudrā*, a *padma*, a *padma* and a water-vessel. The *kukkuṭasarpa* is conspicuous by its absence in both the cases. One instance contains a tiny figure of Pārśvanātha endowed with five-hooded cobra.

There is a solitary instance of the twelve-armed Padmāvatī, carved on the pillar adjacent to the Temple No 11. The pillar bears an inscription of *Saṁvat* 1116 (=A. D. 1059). The figure is harboured in a *rathikā* and exhibits two worshippers with hands in *namaskāra-mudrā* at its sides. The *Yakṣī* shaded by five-hooded cobra is seated on a lotus in *lalitāsana* and her *vāhana, kukkuṭa-sarpa* is shown nearby. She carries the *varada-mudrā*, an arrow, a goad, a long-stalked lotus, a chain (*śṛṅkhalā*), a staff (*daṇḍa*), a *chatra*, a thunderbolt, a snake (single hooded), a noose, a bow and a fruit (*mātuliṅga*).

The sculptures are agreeable to a great extent to the literary injunctions as regards her mount *kukkuṭa-sarpa* (or lotus), the attributes held by her and the snake canopy. The agreement is, however, of much less intensity in respect of the number of her arms. The two-and-twelve-armed varieties, for instance, although fairly present in sculptures, fail to find any literary injunctions to the same effect. This may not be improbable that the sculptures, here too, only preserve some lost traditions.

Foot-notes

(1) Banerjea, J. N., *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, Calcutta, 1956, p. 563; Tiwari, Maruti Nandan Prasad, 'Uttar Bhārat mein Jaina Yakṣī Padmāvatī kā Pratimā-nirūpaṇa' (Hindi), *Anekanta*, yr. 27, No. 2, Aug. 1974, pp. 34-41.

(2) Devī Padmāvatī nāmnā raktavarṇā caturbhujā /
padmāsananaṅkuśaṁ dhatte akṣasūtrāṁ ca paṅkajam /
athavā ṣaḍbhujā devī caturviṁśati sadbhujā //
pāśāsikuntavālendugadāmuśalasaṁyutam /
bhujāṣṭakaṁ samākhyātaṁ caturviṁśatirucyate //
saṅkhāsicakravālendu padmotpalaśarāsanam /
pāśāṅkuśaṁ ghaṇṭa (yāyu) bāṇaṁ muśalakheṭakam /
triśūlaṁparaśuṁ kuntaṁ bhiṇḍamālaṁ phalaṁ gadā /
patrancapallavaṁ dhatte varadā dharmavatsalā //

Pratiṣṭhāsārasaṁgraha 5. 67-71.

(3) However, the symbol of one arm has not been mentioned.

(4) However, the symbol of one hand has not been mentioned.

(5) Pāśāṅkuśau padmavare raktavarṇā caturbhujā /
padmāsanā kukkuṭasthā khyātā Padmāvatīti ca //

Aparājitapṛcchā 221. 37

(6) Yeṣṭuṁ kurkaṭasarpagātriphaṇakottaṅsādviṣoyāta ṣaṭ /
pāśādiḥ sadasatkṛte ca dhṛtasaṅkhāspādido aṣṭakā /

tāṁ śāṅtāmaruṇāṁ sphuracchṛṇisarojanmākṣamālāmbarām /
padmasthāṁ navahastakāṁ prabhunatāṁ yāyajmi Padmāvatīm //

Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra 3.174

(7) Páśādyanvitaṣaḍbhujārijayadā dhyatā caturviṁśatim /
saṅkhāsyādiyutānkaránstu dadhatī yā krūraśāntyarthadā //
śāntyai sāṅkuśavārījākṣamaṇisaddānaiścaturbhiḥ
karairyuktāṁ tāṁprayajāmi Pārśvavinatāṁ padmastha Padmāvatīm /

Pratiṣṭhātilakam 7.23, p. *347-48.*

(8) However, in two instances Padmāvatī is provided with the snake canopy.

YAKṢĪ AMBIKĀ AT KHAJURĀHO

Ambikā, the *Yakṣī* of the twenty-second *Jina* Neminātha, was a well-known and highly venerated goddess in both the sects. She was the first *Yakṣī* to appear along with Sarvānubhūti (Kubera-like *Yakṣa*) *Yakṣa* on the pedestal of the images of all the twenty-four *Jinas*. According to U. P. Shah, it was in the beginning of the transition period, i.e., from the Gupta period to the middle ages (between the sixth and the eighth century A. D.), that Yakṣeśvara (Sarvānubhūti) and Ambikā made their appearance as the attendant *Yakṣa-Yakṣī*[1] pair of different Jinas. She had also enjoyed great prominence at Khajurāho which is evident from the eleven independent sculptures of Ambikā at the site.[2] The images of Ambikā at Khajurāho are very much in agreement with the canonical injunctions which invariably conceive her with a bunch of mangoes (*āmralumbi*) and a child in her two arms and a lion as her mount.

The Pārśvanātha temple (950-70 A.D.) shelters two Ambikā figures on its south facade. The two-armed Ambikā, standing on a bracket holds a bunch of mangoes in her right arm while with the left she supports a child clinging to her breast.[3] The figure agrees in regard to the attributes with the descriptions available in two Digambara texts, namely, the *Pratiṣṭhāsāraddhāra* and the *Pratiṣṭhātilakam*.[4] Behind the head are shown bunches of mangoes. The other child of Ambikā, standing by her right, shows a fruit (?) in one arm. The figures of her Jina and mount, lion, are conspicuous by their absence. The other figure, carved in a niche above the cornice, shows Ambikā with four arms. She sits in *lalitamudrā* on a *padmāsana* with lotus stems shown below. Her *vāhana* (lion) is depicted on the left side. She bears lotuses in her upper right and left hands, while with the lower ones, she holds a bunch of mangoes and a child, seated on her left lap. The child is touching her left breast. Above the head of Ambikā there appears a miniature figure of her Jina, Neminātha, seated cross-legged. On each side of her head foliages of some tree can be seen which do not appear like the branches of mango tree. Behind the head is a round halo consisting of blossom circlet.

The Ādinātha temple (11the century A. D.) preserves three figures, two on its outer walls and one on the left end of the door-lintel. The figure on the western *adhiṣṭhāna* is four-armed. She is here sitting on a pedestal in *lalitāsana*. Beneath the left foot of Ambikā appears a lion figure. She betrays a long-stalked rolled up lotus in her upper right arm and a manuscript-cum-lotus in the left one. A bunch of mangoes is held by her lower right arm and with her lower left she supports a child seated on her lap. The sculpture does not evince the figure of miniature Jina and the mango tree. Another sculpture of four-armed Ambikā is in the pillared nicheof the cornice on east. Here she stands on a pedestal and wears long *vanamālā*. She holds long-stalked rolled up lotuses in her two upper arms and a bunch of mangoes in the lower right. Her lower left arm is placed over the head of a standing child. The child instead of being in the lap, is standing by her left side. At her right appears a lion figure. Above the head of Ambikā are carved a seated Jina figure and the branches of mango tree. The third figure of four-armed Ambikā seated in *lalitāsana*, is portrayed on the left end of the door-lintel. She holds a long-stalked rolled up lotus in her right upper arm and a manuscript-cum-lotus in the left upper. Her lower right hand is engaged in carrying a bunch of mangoes and with the lower left she supports a child, seated on lap. The figure of her mount, lion, appears on right side.

Thus the four-armed figures of Ambikā on the walls of the two Jaina temples show either lotuses or a lotus and a manuscript-cum-lotus in two upper arms which is violation of the iconographic texts prescribing, on the contrary, a noose (*pāśa*) and a goad (*aṅkuśa*)[5]. It should also be pointed out that no Digambara *dhyāna* referring to the four-armed variety of Ambikā describes her as bearing a noose and a goad in upper pair of hands. It is only in the Śvetāmbara tradition that she is said to hold a noose and a goad in her two arms.[6] Regarding the popularity of Ambikā at Khajurāho it is interesting to note that although the above two Jaina temples are attributed to Ādinātha, Ambikā finds an important place on these temples. On the contrary, Cakreśvarī, the *Yakṣī* of Ādinātha, has not been given that much of prominence and her images barring a single sculpture portrayed on the north *adhiṣṭhāna* of the Ādinātha temple, can be seen only on the door-lintels of these temples.

Foot-notes

(1) Shah, U. P., 'Iconography of Cakreśvarī, the Yakṣī of Ṛṣabhanātha', *Jour. of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda, Vol. XX, No. 3, March 1971, pp. 301-305.

(2) The number, however, does not include the tiny figures of Ambikā carved at the door-lintels.

(3) However, it is the solitary example of two-armed Ambikā at Khajurāho.

(4) Savyekadyupagapriyaṅkarasutuk prītyai kare bibhratīṁ divyābhrastabakam
Śubhaṅkarakaraśliṣṭānyahastāṅgulim /
siṁhe bhartṛcare sthitāṁ haritabhāmābhradrumacchrāyagāṁ vaṅdāruṁ
daśakārmukocchrayajinaṁ devīmihāmnām yaje //

Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra 3.176.

(5) However, in an exception, deposited in the Modern Temple No. 27, Ambikā holds in her upper right and left hands respectively a goad and a noose.

(6) See, Shah, U. P., 'Iconography of the Jaina Goddess Ambikā', *Jour. of the University of Bombay*, Vol. IX (NS., 1940-41), pp, 158-60 and Iconographic Table No. II, 7-9, p. 168.

A UNIQUE DOOR-LINTEL FROM KHAJURĀHO

Here we wish to write a note on the figures carved on a doo-lintel from Khajurāho, now on display in the Open Air Archaeological Museum - previously known as the Jardin Museum-at Khajurāho (Acc. No. 1467) (Fig. 32). The door-lintel, datable to the 11th century A. D. is a singular door-lintel from Khajurāho which depicts three most popular Jaina *Yakṣīs*, namely, Cakreśvarī, Ambikā and Padmāvatī, together[1]. Perhaps it is relevant to mention here that the *Rūpamaṇḍana* invokes Cakreśvarī, Ambikā, Padmāvatī and Siddhāyikā as the four popular most *Yakṣīs* of Jaina pantheon.[2]

The beautifully designed door-lintel, besides the figures of the *Yakṣīs*, also contains the figures of the *navagrahas*, carved in a row. The left and right extremities of the slab (from the onlookers viewpoint) are occupied by the figures respectively of Ambikā and Padmāvatī, while in the centre is carved Cakreśvarī. These *Yakṣī* figures, possessing four arms, are seated in *lalitāsana*. Each of the *Yakṣīs* is bedecked in *dhotī*, necklaces, *stanahāra*, armlets, bracelets, anklets and girdle. Cakreśvarī wears a *kirīṭa-mukuṭa*, while Padmāvatī and Ambikā wear respectively a *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa* and an embellished coiffure.

Cakreśvarī or Apraticakrā rides a *garuḍa* (represented in human form and supporting the seat of the *Yakṣī*) and bears in her surviving hands the *varada-mudrā*, a mace and a disc. The rendering of the *Yakṣī* corresponds with the prescriptions of the Digambara works which invariably conceive the four-armed Cakreśvarī as riding over a *garuḍa* and bearing a disc and the *varada-mudrā*.[3]

Ambikā holds an *āmralumbi*, a spiral lotus, a spiral lotus in her three hands, while with the remaining one she supports a child sitting in her lap and touching her bosom. Beneath the seat is carved a lion, her mount, and close to her right leg is sitting her second son with a fruit. Over the head of Ambikā, there appears a diminutive figure of her Jina, and also the branches of a mango-tree. The present figure concurs with the injunctions of the Digambara texts so far as the rendering of lion mount and *āmralumbi* and a child is concerned.[4] The departure from the the tradition is noticed only as to the number of her hands, wherein she has been visualized as possessing two hands. The other two hands, bearing spiral lotuses in the present instance, speak of some tradition now lost.

Padmāvatī, shaded by five-headed snake canopy, shows the *varada-mudrā*, a noose and a goad in her three hands, while the fourth one is mutilated. Close to the seat is carved her conveyance, *kukkuṭa*. The rendering of Padmāvatī here conforms to the iconographic prescriptions of the Digambara works which visualize her with *kukkuṭa* as mount and goad and noose as chief emblems.[5] The snake canopy is also envisaged for her.

The *navagrahas* were assimilated in Jaina creed in the remote past. They constitute an important class of gods grouped as *Jyotiṣka Devas*. Their iconographic features are detailed in Jaina texts of tbe 11th-12th century A.D. The separate figures of the *navagrahas* are not known. Nevertheless, they are invariably represented in group on the door-lintels of the Jaina temples and also on the *parikara* of the Jina images between eighth and 12th century A.D. Their rendering was more popular with the Digambaras, specially at the Jaina sites of Mathura, Deogarh and Khajurāho. However, the representation of the *navagrahas* at Śvetāmbara Jaina sites is rarely met with. It is worthwhile to note here that the iconographic features of the *navagrahas* at Jaina sites lack in variety and follow the Brahminic tradition.

All the *grahas* in the present door-lintel possess two hands and wear decorated *mukuṭas*, necklaces and other usual ornaments. Sūrya sits in *utkūṭikāsana* (squatting pose) and holds long-stalked lotus in each of his hands. In front of Sūrya is carved a small standing female figure, who may be identified with Uṣā. The subsequent six figures, following Sūrya, sit in *lalitāsana* and show tha *abhaya-mudrā* and a *kalaśa* in their right and left hands. They represent Candra, Mangala, Budha, Bṛhaspati, Śukra and Śani. Rāhu, only with bust, occupies the extreme end of the slab. His hands are shown in the *tarpaṇa-mudrā*. Over the head of Rāhu, there appears Ketu, a snake deity, in hovering pose with his hands folded. He is shaded by cobrahoods and his body below the waist is that of a serpent.

Foot-notes

(1) All other door-lintels at the site invariably contain the figures of Cakreśvarī, Ambikā, Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī, and in one instance Siddhāyikā also.

(2) *Rūpamaṇḍana* 6. 25-26.

(3) *Pratiṣṭhāsārasaṁgraha* 5. 15-16, *Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra* 3. 156.

(4) *Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra* 3. 176, *Pratiṣṭhātilakam* 7.22, p. 347.

(5) Pāśāṅkuśau padmavare raktavarṇā caturbhujā /
padmāsanā kukkuṭasthā khyātā Padmāvatīti ca //
Aparājitapṛcchā 221.37; Also see, *Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra* 3.174.

IV

MAHĀVIDYĀS

THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE SIXTEEN JAINA MAHĀVIDYĀS AS REPRESENTED IN THE CEILING OF THE ŚĀNTINĀTHA TEMPLE AT KUMBHĀRIĀ

The Sixteen Jaina Mahāvidyās[1] forming a group of Tāntric goddesses were accorded the most favoured position among both the Śvetāmbara and Digambara Jaina sects.[2] Almost all the iconographic works from c. eighth century A.D. onwards treat of the individual iconographic forms of the Sixteen Jaina Mahāvidyās. Unlike the case in the Śvetāmbara sect's vestiges in Rajasthan and Gujarat, wherein depiction of Mahāvidyās invariably occurs, no sculpture or painting of the Digambara affiliation has so far been reported by scholars to depict them.[3] At Khajurāho, however, on the *maṇḍovara* of the Digambara Jaina temple of Ādinātha (11th century A.D.), a series of Sixteen Jaina goddesses was noticed by the author, which may be identified with a group of Sixteen Jaina Mahāvidyās[4].

The earliest-known representations of the Śvetāmbara Jaina Mahāvidyās, as temple decorations, are found at the Mahāvīra temple at Osiāñ (Rajasthan),[5] built by the Pratihāra Vatsarāja at the close of the eighth century A. D.[6] (These Mahāvidyā figures almost fully correspond to the iconographic forms enjoined by the *Caturviṁśatikā* (of Bappabhaṭṭi Sūri-743-838 A.D.), the earliest-known iconographic text dealing with the individual iconography of the Jaina Mahāvidyās. However, Prajñapti, Naradattā, Gāndhārī, Mahājvālā and Mānavī are not represented at the temple, while Rohiṇī, Apraticakrā, Vairoṭyā and Mahāmānasī enjoyed more favoured position).

We shall here discuss, in detail, the iconography of the set of Sixteen Mahāvidyās as portrayed in the *bhramikā* ceiling of the Śāntinātha temple (1077 A.D.)[7] at Kumbhāriā, District Banas Kantha (North Gujarat)[8] (Fg. 42). The ceiling containing the figures of the Sixteen Mahāyidyās is close to the *Raṅgamaṇḍapa* of the temple on east. All the five Jaina temples at Kumbhāriā (constructed between 11th to the first half of the 13th century A.D.) are of the Śvetāmbara affiliation. This, it may be noted, is the earliest-known set of the Sixteen Jaina Mahāvidyās.[9] Other subsequent sets of the Sixteen Mahāvidyās are known from the Vimala Vasahī (two sets : one in the *Raṅgamaṇḍapa* ceiling-1148-50 A.D. and the other set in the corridor ceiling infront of the Cell No. 41-latter half of the 12th century A.D.), the Lūṇa Vasahī (one set-1232 A.D.) and the Kharatara Vasahī (two sets-16th centnry A.D.), all lying at Mt. Ābū (Rajasthan).[10]

Of the Sixteen Mahāvidyās, under discussion, only eleven correspond, fully or partially with the injunctions of the *Caturviṁśatikā* and more so with the *Nirvāṇa*-

kalikā (c. 10th century A.D.). However, in representations of two other Mahāvidyās, namely, Mahājvālā and Acchuptā, the prescriptions of the *Ācāradinakara* (1411 A.D.) have been followed. One other Vidyādevī, Kālī, not conforming to any known *dhyānas*, has been identified on the testimony of *khaṭvāṅga* symbol. A firm individual identification of the remaining two Mahāvidyās-Mānasī and Mahāmānasī-could not be possible inasmuch as they do not correspond even the least to any of the known *dhyānas*. In the present study the author, wherever necessary, has reinforced his identifications by other representations of the Mahāvidyās in the Śāntinātha temple and other known sets of their collective renderings.

The present group of the Sixteen Mahāvidyās is shown all round the central figure of the Jina Supārśvanātha, seated as he is in the usual *dhyāna-mudrā*.[11] Supārśvanātha with a five-hooded cobra overhead is seated on a *siṁhāsana* with two flanking *cāmaradhara* attendants and the usual cortége of accessary symbols.[12] All the Mahāvidyās, possessing four-arms, are seated in *lalitāsana* on *bhadrāsana*, with right leg hanging and left being tucked up.(The only other set representing Vidyādevīs in seated posture is known from the Kharatara Vasahī). Mahāvidyās wearing the *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa* are bejewelled in *dhotī*, necklaces, *stanahāras*, armlets, bracelets and anklets. However, the respective *vāhanas* of the Mahāvidyās have not been carved in the set, which consequently makes the identification in some cases difficult or confusing. The other difficulty in regard to their identification, atleast in two cases, is that they are not represented in the order as prescribed by the iconograbhic texts.[13] Had the order been maintained, the individual identification of Mānasī and Mahāmānasī could also be firmly established even without other aid. Thus, in absence of the order, we shall begin arbitrarily with Apraticakrā thence to proceed clockwise.

(1) **Apraticakrā (or Cakreśvarī)**—the 5th Vidyādevī. She bears the *varada-mudrā* (boon-conferring gesture), a *cakra* (disc), a *cakra* and *a śaṅkha* (conch). Almost all the iconographic works describe Apraticakrā as carrying discs in all her arms,[14] but excepting a few instances,[15] she is invariably shown with discs in two or only one of her hands.

(2) **Mahākālī**—the 8th Vidyādevī. She holds the *varadākṣa* (*varada*-cum-rosary), a *vajra* (thunderbolt), a *ghaṇṭā* (bell) with top designed like a trident, and a *mātuliṅga* (fruit). The attributes fully correspond to the description of Mahākālī in the *Caturviṁśatikā*.[16] The *Nirvāṇakalikā*, however, prescribes the *abhaya-mudrā*,[17] in place of a fruit.

(3) **Puruṣadattā (or Naradattā)**—the 6th Vidyādevī. She carries a *khaḍga* (sword), a *kārmuka* (?) (bow), a *kheṭaka* (shield) and a fruit. Except for the bow (?) the figure agrees with the description of the *Nirvāṇakalikā*, where bow has been substituted by the *varada-mudrā*.[18] (The figure's identification with Mahāmānasī, however, is not unlikely inasmuch as the sword and shield symbols have also been invariable attributes of Mahāmānasī).

(4) **Mānavī**—the 12th Vidyādevī. She betrays the *varadākṣa*, a *pāśa* (noose), a tree plant and a fruit. The figure agrees with the description of the *Nirvāṇakalikā*, wherein she bears the *varada*, a noose, a rosary and a tree.[19] As it is apparent, fruit has not been prescribed by the *Nirvāṇakalikā*. It may be noted here that in almost all other known instances of Mānavī at Kumbhāriā and every where else, she has been rendered as carrying leaves of some tree in both of her upper hands.

(5) **Prajñapti**—the 2nd Vidyādevī. She shows the *varadākṣa*, a *śakti* (spear), a *kukkuṭa* (cock) and a fruit. Although in no Śvetāmbara *dhyāna* Prajñapti is visualized as carrying *kukkuṭa*, in plastic art the representation of *kukkuṭa* was in vogue. The figure of Prajñapti in the set of Sixteen Mahāvidyās in the *Raṅgamaṇḍapa* of the Vimala Vasahī also shows a *kukkuṭa* and a *śakti* in her upper pair of arms. The association of *kukkuṭa*, *śakti* and the peacock with Prajñapti suggests the bearing of the iconography of Brāhminic deity Kārttikeya. The figure concurs with the description of the *Nirvāṇakalikā*, except for the representation of *kukkuṭa*.[20]

(6) **Acchuptā**—the 14th Vidyādevī. She bears a sword, a *śara* (arrow), a shield and a bow. The figure agrees with the description of the *Nirvāṇakalikā* which prescribes a snake in place of a bow.[21] However, a later work - the *Ācāradinakara* - envisages depiction of bow.[22]

(7) **Gaurī**—the 9th Vidyādevī. She holds the *varadākṣa*, a *gadā* (mace-may be *musala* even), a *sanāla-padma* (long-stalked lotus) and a fruit. The figure, if the second attribute is accepted as a *musala*, almost fully corresponds to the *Nirvāṇakalikā*, which prescribes the *varada*, a *musala*, a rosary and a lotus.[23]

(8) **Gāndhārī**—the 10th Vidyādevī. She shows the *varadākṣa*, a thunderbolt, a *musala*, and a fruit. The figure agrees with the description of the *Nirvāṇakalikā* except substituting the *abhaya* for fruit.[24] It may be noted that in other instances at Kumbhāriā also Gāndhārī carries a thunderbolt and a *musala* in two upper hands.

(9) **Vairoṭyā**—the 13th Vidyādevī. She holds a sword, a snake (*uraga*), a shield and a snake (looking like a purse).The figure is fully guided by the injunction of the *Nirvāṇakalikā* prescribing the same set of symbols for Vairoṭyā.[25]

(10) **Kālī**—the 7th Vidyādevī. She bears the *varadākṣa*, a noose, a *khaṭvāṅga* (the osseous shaft of the forearm capped by a skull) and a fruit. On account of the *khaṭvāṅga* symbol the most plausible identification of the present goddess would be with Kālī. An influence of the Brāhminic Cāmuṇḍā [26]—another appellation of Kālī, over this figure is here discernible. It may be noted that the present figure does not correspond the least to any of the known Śvetāmbara *dhyānas* which generally prescribe for Kālī a rosary, a mace, a *vajra* and the *abhaya*. Any parallel showing Kālī with *khaṭvāṅga* is not known to the author. The fact that no other Mahāvidyā in the series is associated with *khaṭvāṅga*, an invariable attribute of the Brāhminic Cāmuṇḍā or Kālī suggests Brāhminic influence on the present figure. Such trans-sectarian influences are, however, not unknown. We have already discussed in the previous pages how, violating the canonical injunctions, under the Brāhminic influence *kukkuṭa* was associated with the Jaina Mahāvidyā Prajñapti. (The occurrence of *khaṭvāṅga*, flames of fire and human head like fury symbols with the Jaina goddesses atonce suggests that the Tāntric influence was gradually increasing in the Jaina pantheon. For example, an instance is known to the author from the Temple No. 12 at Deogarh (862) where in the series of the 24-*Yakṣīs*, the *Yakṣī* associated with Kunthunātha (the 17th Jina) carries a human head held by its hair in one of her hands.)

(11) **Rohiṇī**—the 1st Vidyādevī. She carries the *varadākṣa*, an arrow, a bow and a fruit. As against the prescriptions of the *Caturviṁśatikā*.[27] and the *Nirvāṇakalikā*, she does not show the conch symbol. The texts prescribe a rosary, an arrow, a conch and a bow. In the sets of the Vimala Vasahī (*Raṅgamaṇḍapa*) and the Kharatara Vasahī, however, Rohiṇī exhibits conch in one of her hands. At Kumbhāriā also in other instances the association of conch with Rohiṇī was not popular.

(12) **Vajrāṅkuśā**—the 4th Vidyādevī. She bears the *varadākṣa*, an *aṅkuśa* (goad), a *vajra* and a fruit, which fully conform to the description of the *Nirvāṇakalikā*.[28] It may be noted that she, in conformity with her name, has invariably been incarnated with an *aṅkuśa* and a *vajra*.

(13) **Mahājvālā (or Sarvāstra-Mahājvālā)**—the 11th Vidyādevī. She holds the *varadākṣa*, a *jvālā-pātra* (pot with flames), a *jvālā-pātra* and a citron. It may be noted here that the *Nirvāṇakalikā* and the *Mantrādhirājakalpa* do not mention flames as her characteristic attribute. The *Mantrādhirājakalpa*, however, prescribes snakes in all her four arms. The *Caturviṁśatikā* associates burning *heti*, as a distinguishing symbol, with Mānasī (*jvalajjvalanahetikā haratu Mānasī*...56·14) while this has invariably been associated with Mahājvālā, especially in art. It is to be noted that the *Caturviṁśatikā* combines the iconographic traits of two Vidyādevīs - Mānasī and Mahājvālā - in one Vidyādevī, called Mānasī. Hence, Mahājvālā finds no separate mention in the text. The *Ācāradinakara*, however, describes Jvālā Devī as possessing two arms and carrying flames in both of them.[29] Almost all the known instances depict Mahājvālā as carrying two *jvālāpātras* (placed on the open palms and held with fingers) in upper pair of hands.

(14) **Mānasī** (?)—the 15th Vidyādevī. She shows the *varadākṣa*, a *śūla*, a *śūla* and a fruit. As no available *dhyāna* makes any provision for the rendering of the *śūla* in the hands of Mānasī, which happens to be the distinguishing attribute of Prajñapti, the present identification is doubtful. Since except Mānasī and Mahāmānasī, all other Vidyādevīs in the set are identified with certainty, the present figure and the following one would automatically represent Mānasī and Mahāmānasī or vice-versa. In all the ieonographic works Mānasī is said to have carried thunderbolts in upper pair of arms, and it may be the case that, by mistake, *śūlas* have replaced thunderbolts. It may by noted that a goddess showing *śūlas* in two upper arms was popular in the Śāntinātha and other temples at Kumbhāriā, but nowhere her *vāhana* has been carved, thus leaving the problem of her identification unresolved.

(15) **Mahāmānasī** (?)—the 16th Vidyādevī. She betrays the *varadākṣa*, a long-stalked lotus and a fruit.[30] As has already been mentioned, the figure does not conform the least to any of the known *dhyānas* prescribed for Mahāmānasī, which generally conceive her with the *varada*, a sword, a pitcher and a shield (the *Nirvāṇakalikā*, p. 37). It may be noted that the goddess with long-stalked lotus in each of the two upper hands, represented by a good number of sculptures in the Śāntinātha and other temples at Kumbhāriā and elsewhere, has never been provided with vehicle. Hence, the problem of her identification remains unsolved. The goddess with long-stalked lotuses in the upper hands is generally identifiable with Śāntidevī or Nirvāṇī (the 16th *Yakṣī*). As the context here is precisely different, we are forced to identify her with Mahāmānasī. [31]

(16) **Vajraśṛṅkhalā** - the 3rd Vidyādevī. She holds the *varada*, a chain (*śṛṅkhalā*) in two upper hands (passing from behind the neck) and a fruit. The figure corresponds to the description of the *Nirvāṇakalikā*,[32] except for showing a fruit against the lotus of the text.

Foot-notes

(1) The final list of the Sixteen Jaina Mahāvidyās supplied by the later traditions of both the sects includes the following names :
(1) Rohiṇī, (2) Prajñapti, (3) Vajraśṛṅkhalā, (4) Vajrāṅkuśā, (5) Cakreśvarī or Apraticakrā (Śvet.) and Jāmbunadā (Dig.), (6) Naradattā or Puruṣadattā, (7) Kālī or Kālikā, (8) Mahākālī, (9) Gaurī, (10) Gāndhārī, (11) Sarvāstra-mahājvālā or Jvālā (Śvet) & Jvālāmālinī (Dig.), (12) Mānavī, (13) Vairoṭyā (Śvet.) & Vairoṭī (Dig.), (14) Acchuptā (Śvet.) & Acyutā (Dig.), (15) Mānasī, (16) Mahāmānasī.

(2) For detailed study consult, Shah, U.P., 'Iconography of the Sixteen Jaina Mahāvidyās', *Jour. Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. XV, 1947, pp. 114-177.

(3) Ibid., Shah writes, "As yet no sculpture or painting of a Digambara Mahāvidyā is brought to light"

(4) The prolific Digambara Jaina site at Khajurāho was visited by the present author and hence the results are based on his own studies.

(5) However, U.P. Shah in his paper on the *Jaina Mahāvidyās* has not alluded to any example of the Mahāvidyā figure from the Mahāvīra temple at Osiāñ.

(6) Consult, Dhaky, M. A., 'Some Early Jaina Temples in Western India', *Shri Mahāvīra Jaina Vidyālaya Golden Jubilee Volume*, Pt. I, Bombay, 1968, pp. 325-26.

(7) Sompura, Kantilal F., *The Structural Temples of Gujarat*, Ahmedabad, 1968, p. 129. According to Sompura, "The earliest four inscriptions on the pedestals of images are dated V. S. 1133 (= 1077 A. D.). This can safely be regarded as the date of the temple"! However, the present author during his visit to the Kumbhāriā temples has noticed even an earlier inscription of the *Saṁvat* 1110 (=A.D. 1054) in the Cell No. 9 of the Śāntinātha temple.

(8) The Vimala Vasahī's two sets of the Mahāvidyās' collective representations were held to be the earliest examples of the collective rendering of these goddesses till the author found a still remoter instance of the kind at Kumbhāriā

(9) However, U. P. Shah in his paper on the *Jaina Mahāvidyās* does not refer to this earliest set. Further, it is the solitary instance of the collective representation of the Sixteen Mahāvidyās at the site and also, perhaps, in Gujarat.

(10) Shah, U.P., *Jaina Mahāvidyās*, pp. 120-21.

(11) The rendering of the Sixteen Mahāvidyās round the figure of Jina Supārśvanātha, carved in the centre, suggests some affiliation of the Tāntric group of Mahāvidyās with the Jina, which, perhaps, is not known in the literature.

(12) It includes *trichatra* topped by a disembodied figure and a pair of elephants, *mālādharas* and divine musicians.

(13) For example, Rohiṇī is followed by Vajrāṅkuśā and Vajraśṛṅkhalā by Cakreśvarī.

(14) Shah, U. P., *Jaina Mahāvidyās*, pp. 132-33.

(15) At Osiāñ on the Mahāvīra temple and on *Devakulikās* (11th century A. D.), she is carved with discs in all her four hands. A few other identical instances have also been noticed by the author at the Pārśvanātha temple at Sādri and at the Mahāvīra temple at Ghāṇerāv, both in the Pali District in Rajasthan and constructed in c. 10th-11th century A. D. However, in the series of the *24-Yakṣīs* at Deogarh (Temple No. 12-862 A.D.) also Cakreśvarī shows discs in all her four hands.

(16) Ghaṇṭendraśastraṁ safalakṣamālam nṛsthā vahantī vimalākṣamālam /

Caturviṁśatikā 68.17.

(17) See, *Nirvāṇakalikā*, p. 37.

(18) Puruṣadattāṁ kanakāvadātāṁ mahiṣīvāhanāṁ caturbhujāṁ varadāsiyuktadakṣiṇakarāṁ mātuliṅgakheṭakayutavāmahastāṁ ceti / /

Nirvāṇakalikā, p. 37.

(19) Mānavīṁ śyāmavarṇāṁ kamalāsanāṁ caturbhujāṁ varadapāśālaṅkṛtadakṣiṇakarāṁ akṣasūtraviṭapālaṅkṛta vāmahastāṁ ceti /

Nirvāṇakalikā, p. 37.

(20) Prajñaptiṁ śvetavarṇāṁ mayūravāhanāṁ caturbhujāṁ varadaśakti yuktadakṣiṇakarāṁ mātuliṅgaśaktiyuktavāmahastāṁ ceti /

Nirvāṇakalikā, p. 37.

(21) Acchuptāṁ taḍidvarṇāṁ turagavāhanāṁ caturbhujām khaḍgabāṇayutadakṣiṇakarāṁ kheṭakāhiyutavāmakarāṁ ceti /

Nirvāṇakalikā, p. 37.

(22) Savyapāṇidhṛtakārmukasfarānyasfuradviśikhakhaḍgadhāriṇī /

Ācāradinakara, P. II, Pratiṣṭhādhikāra. 34.14

(23) Gaurīṁ devīṁ kanakagaurīṁ godhāvāhanāṁ caturbhujāṁ varadamusalayutadakṣiṇakarāmakṣamālākuvalayālaṅkṛtavāmahastāṁ ceti /

Nirvāṇakalikā, p. 37

(24) Gāndhārīṁdevīṁ nīlavarṇāṁ kamalāsanāṁ caturbhujāṁ varadamusalayutadakṣiṇakarāṁ abhayakuliśayutavāmahastāṁ ceti /

Nirvāṇakalikā, p. 37.

(25) Vairoṭyāṁ śyāmvarṇāṁ ajagaravāhanāṁ caturbhujāṁ kheḍgoragalaṅkṛta dakṣiṇakarāṁ kheṭakāhiyutavāmakarāṁ ceti /

Nirvāṇakalikā, p. 37.

(26) See, Banerjea, J. N., *The Development of Hindu Iconograhy*, Calcutta, 1956, p. 274.

(27) Śarākṣadhanuśsaṅkhabhṛnnijayaśovalakṣā matā...

Caturviṁśatikā 12.3.

(28) Vajrāṅkuśāṁ kanakavarṇāṁ gajavāhanāṁ caturbhujāṁ varadavajrayutadakṣakarāṁ mātuliṅgāṅkuśayuktavāmahastāṁ ceti /

Nirvāṇakalika, p. 37.

(29) Mārjāravāhanā nityaṁ jvālodbhāsikaradvayā /
śaśāṅka dhavalā jvālādevī bhadraṁ dadātanuḥ //
Ācāradinakara, Pt. II Pratiṣṭhādhikāra, 34·11.

(30) However, in the Vimala Vasahī set of the *Raṅgamaṇḍapa* a goddess with mount buffalo (of Puruṣadattā) is rendered with long-stalked lotuses in two upper hands.

(31) As the previous figure has already been identified with Mānasī the present figure may be identified with Mahāmānasī.

(32) Vajraśṛṅkhalāṁ śaṅkhāvadātāṁ padmavāhanāṁ caturbhujāṁ varadaśṛṅkhalānvitadakṣiṇakarāṁ padmaśṛṅkhalādhiṣṭhitavāmakarāṁ ceti /
Nirvāṇakalikā, p. 37.

THE SIXTEEN JAINA GODDESSES ON THE ĀDINĀTHA TEMPLE AT KHAJURĀHO

The Ādinātha temple, built in the latter half of the 11th century A. D.,[1] is dedicated to the first Jina Ādinātha, also known as Ṛṣabhanātha. The exterior walls and the door-way of the temple contain a number of sculptures. Besides Gomukha,[2] Aṣṭa-dikpāla, Apsarā, Gandharva, Kinnara, Vidyādhara and Śārdūla figures, the temple also contains the figures of Jaina *Yakṣī* Cakreśvarī,[3] Ambikā[4] and Padmāvatī.[5] Moreover, on the southern *adhiṣṭhāna* of the temple a figure of the four-armed Kṣetrapāla is also carved. He sits in *lalita*-pose and bears a mace, a mongoose, a snake and a fruit in hands. He is accompanied by a dog as his conveyance. The *garbhagṛha* enshrines an image of Ṛṣabhanātha, dated in 1158 A. D.

Of all the sculptures, the most important ones are the sixteen figures of the goddesses harboured in the pillared niches of the outer walls of the temple. We propose to identify these goddesses with the Sixteen Jaina Mahāvidyās. Our identification rests on two simple reasons. First, the number of the niches is Sixteen[6] which exactly corresponds to the number of the Sixteen Jaina Mahāvidyās. Second, these figures have been accorded a special status, evidenced by the rendering of diminutive figures of the four-armed goddesses, flywhisk-bearing female attendants, adorers, and above all the Jinas with them.

The Sixteen Jaina Mahāvidyās occupy an exalted position among both the Śvetāmbara and Digambara Jaina sects.[7] Next to the Jinas and their respective *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* pairs, the Sixteen Jaina Mahāvidyās only had the privilege to have enjoyed the most favoured position both in literature and art. It may be noted here that from among a number of Vidyādevīs referred to in early Jaina literature, the most popular ones were put together and a list thereof was standardized at a later stage. The lists of the Sixteen Mahāvidyās among both the Jaina sects were finalized sometime in the ninth-tenth century A. D.

The figures of the goddesses in the sixteen *rathikās* of the Ādinātha temple at Khajurāho assume special importance because it is perhaps the solitary instance of the rendering of Jaina Mahāvidyās at a Digambara Jaina site. In our endeavour to identify these figures with the Jaina Mahāvidyās, we have taken the help of the following Digambara Jaina texts : the *Pratiṣṭhāsārasaṁgraha* (c. 12th cent. A. D.), *Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra* (13th cent. A. D.) and the *Pratiṣṭhātilakam* (1543 A. D.). We have also comparad the figures with the Śvetāmbara texts, wherever necessary.

All the goddesses are sheltered in pillared niches, measuring approximately 31" x 25", with the figures of *gaja-vyāla-makara*-trio and warrior carved at two extremities. The goddesses, possessing four, six or eight arms, are bedecked in tall *mukuṭas*, necklaces, *stanahāras*, armlets, bracelets, anklets, ear-rings and *dhotī*. All the figures are badly mutilated and in two cases the niches are also vacant. Barring two figures, the goddess always sits in *lalitāsana* on a lotus seat with her one leg dangling down and the other being tucked up. However, in the remaining two instances, the goddess stands in *tribhaṅga*. Over the head of the goddess, in each case, is carved a tiny figure of a Jina, which in some cases are hidden behind the *mukuṭa*. Above the shoulder of the principal goddess, there appears, in each case, the two small figures of seated goddesses, possessing four hands and holding lotuses in two upper hands and the *abhaya-mudrā* and a water-vessel in the lower ones. The principal goddesses are flanked by two female flywhisk bearing attendants. The goddess, in each case, has an ornate halo and two worshippers, sitting close to her feet, with their hands folded in supplication. The two sets of seven figures each are carved respectively on the southern and northern facade, while the remaining two figures are on the western facade. The reading of our figures begins with the southern facade and runs from top downwards.

The first figure of the southern extremity portrays a four-armed goddess, standing in *tribhaṅga* and bearing a disc and a water-vessel in her surviving left hands. However, the figure of her conveyance is not discernible. The goddess is not identifiable. The second *rathikā* is vacant.

The third niche harbours the figure of an eight-armed goddess, seated in *lalitāsana* on a lotus seat. Close to her feet, there appears her *vāhana*, horse. The goddess holds the *abhaya-mudrā*, an indistinct object, a long object, an arrow, an indistinct object, a bow, a staff and a water-pot in her hands. On the strength of the *vāhana*, she may be identified either with Prajñapti[8] or with Acyutā.[9] However, the attributes of the goddess do not correspond with any of the iconographic prescriptions of the Digambara works. But in Śvetāmbara texts, Acchuptā, with horse as her mount, is conceived as holding a bow (or a snake), a shield, a sword and an arrow in her hands.[10] The *rathikā bimba* of the fourth niche has also disappeared.

The fifth niche contains the figure of a six-armed goddess, sitting in *lalita*-pose under the canopy of a seven-hooded cobra. In her two surviving right hands, she holds a lotus and a noose. Adjacent to her seat is carved a figure of tortoise, meant for *vāhana*. On the testimony of *vāhana*, she may be identified with Gāndhārī.[11] She may also be identified with Vairoṭī on the basis of her association with snake. According to the Digambara texts, Vairoṭī rides a lion and holds snakes in her hands.[12] However, the seven headed snake canopy also reminds us of Padmāvatī, the *Yakṣī* of the 23rd Jina Pārśvanātha.

The sixth *rathikā* shelters the figure of an eight-armed goddess, seated in *lalitāsana* on a lotus seat. Close to the seat is carved her conveyance, lion. She bears the *abhaya-mudrā*, a mace (?), a *triśūla* (?), a mongoose (?), a *paraśu* and a *śakti* in her surviving hands. We have not been able to identify the goddess on the basis of the available Digambara texts. However, the Śvetāmbara works envisage lion for Mahāmānasī as her mount.[13]

The eight-armed goddess of the seventh niche sits in *lalita*-pose on a lotus seat. Under the feet of the goddess is portrayed the figure of her vehicle, *makara*. She holds in her surviving hands a *śūla*, a *vajra*, a sword, a shield and a *pustaka*. The goddess cannot be identified on the testimony of the available Digambara texts. However, in a Śvetāmbara text, Mahāmānasī is conceived as riding a *makara* and holding a sword, a shield, a jewel and the *varada-mudrā* in her four hands[14]. Above the shoulder of the principal goddess, there appears on each flank, a four-armed goddess seated in *lalitāsana* and holding the *abhaya-mudrā*, a *sruk*, a manuscript (rolled with lotus), and a water-vessel. Below these tiny figures are carved *haṁsa*, meant for *vāhana*.

The goddess harboured in the eighth niche is also eight armed. She sits in *lalita*-pose on a lotus seat. Close to her feet is depicted bull mount. The goddess wears *jaṭā-mukuṭa* and holds in her surviving hands a *triśūla*, some weapon, a lotus and a noose. The goddess may represent Gaurī. According to the Śvetāmbara text *Mantrādhirājakalpa*, Gaurī rides over a bull and carries a lotus, a rosary, the *varada-mudrā* and a staff in her hands.[15]

The ninth *rathikā* shelters the figure of a four-armed goddess, seated in *lalitāsana* with a rampant lion, meant for *vāhana*, carved below the lotus seat. In one of her remaining hands, she holds a manuscript entwined by a lotus. The goddess is not identifiable.

The figure sheltered in the tenth *rathikā* is badly mutilated. The goddess here is eight-armed but only one hand, carrying a shield, has survived to us. The vehicle of the goddess appears to be either a peacock or a swan. If the mount is taken to be swan, she may be identified with Puruṣadattā, who, according to the Digambara *dhyāna*, carries a *vajra*, a lotus, a conch and a fruit.[16]

The figure in the eleventh niche is also badly mutilated. All the eight hands of the goddess are broken off. The goddess rides over a *garuḍa*, represented in human form and wearing a graland of snake. On account of *garuḍa vāhana*, the goddess may be identified as Apratickrā, who, according to Svetāmbara texts, rides a *garuḍa* and holds discs in all her hands.[17] The twelfth *rathikā* exhibits, a four-armed goddess, standing on a pedestal and holding in her three surviving hands the *varada-mudrā*, a rolled lotus and a rolled lotus. The *vāhana* is not discernible. The goddess remains unidentified. The thirteenth niche contains the figure of an eight-armed goddess, sitting in *lalitāsana* on a lotus seat. All her hands are damaged, but the figure of her elephant mount is extant. On the strength of elephant mount, the goddess may be identified either with Vajraśṛṅkhalā or with Vajrāṅkuśā.[18]

The figure in the fourteenth niche portrays an eight-armed goddess, sitting in *lalita*-pose with a deer carved as conveyance. In her two surviving hands, the goddess bears the *abhaya-mudrā* and a shield. The goddess may be identified with Kālī. The Digambara texts conceive Kālī as riding a deer and holding a pestle, a sword, a lotus and a fruit[19]. The figure in the fifteenth niche shows a four-armed goddess, sitting in *dhyāna-mudrā* on a lotus seat. All her hands are broken away. The conveyance is conspicuous by its absence. The goddess cannot be identified. The sixteenth *rathikā* harbours a figure of an eight-armed goddess, sitting in *lalitāsana* on a lotus seat. Only one hand, showing the *abhaya-mudrā*, has survived to us. The *vāhana* here is, perhaps, a peacock with its head being damaged. On account of peacock *vāhana*, she may be identified with Jāmbūnadā,[20] who, according to the Digambara texts, rides a peacock and bears a sword, a spear, a lotus and a fruit in her hands.

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Foot-notes

(1) Krishna Deva, 'The temples of Khajurāho in Central India', *Ancient India*, No. 15, 1959, p. 58.

(2) The facade contains eight Gomukha figures. All of them possess four hands and stand in *tribhaṅga*. They bear the *varada-mudrā*, an axe (or a rolled lotus), a rolled lotus and a water-pot.

(3) The temple has two figures of Cakreśvarī; one on the northern *adhiṣṭhāna*, and the other on the door-lintel. In both the instances, the four-armed Cakreśvarī rides a *garuḍa*, represented in human form, and shows the *abhaya-mudrā*, a mace, a disc and a conch in her hands.

(4) The temple contains three figures of Ambikā;one on the western *adhiṣṭhāna*, the other on the door-way and the third one on the eastern *śikhara*. In all the examples, the four-armed Ambikā holds a bunch of mangoes, a rolled lotus, a manuscript entwined by rolled lotus (or just a rolled lotus) and a child (clasped in lap and touching her breast). Close to the feet of Ambikā is carved her *vāhana*, lion. Excepting in the case of *śikhara* figure, where she stands, Ambikā always sits in *lalitāsana*.

(5) Padmāvatī is represented by one sculpture, carved on the door-way. The four-armed Padmāvatī sits in *laliṭa*-pose and holds the *abhaya-mudrā*, a noose, a lotus-bud and a water-vessel. Above her head is shown the canopy of a five-hooded cobra. However, the figure of her *vāhana* is not discernible.

(6) Likewise, we have noticed sixteen *rathikā* figures on the facade of the Caturbhuja and Dūlādeo Temples at Khajurāho. The rathikā figures in the cases of above Hindu Temples portray Brahmā, Śiva, Viṣṇu, Sūrya, Cāmuṇḍā, Narasiṁha, Lakṣmī and some of the composite forms of Brahminic deities.

(7) For details consult, Shah, U. P., 'Iconography of the Sixteen Jaina Mahāvidyās', *Journal of Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. XV, 1947, pp. 114-77.

(8) Tadbhāktikāṁ tvāśvagatelinīlāṁ Prajñaptikercāmi sacakrakhaḍgām //

Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra 3. 38.

(9) Dhautāsihastāṁ hayagecyute tvāṁ hemaprabhātaṁ praṇatāṁ praṇaumi //

Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra 3. 50

(10) Acchuptāṁ taḍidvarṇāṁ turagavāhanāṁ caturbhujāṁ khaḍgavāṇayutadakṣiṇakarāṁ kheṭakahi yutavāmakaraṁ ceti /

Nirvāṇakalikā, p. 37.

Also consult, *Ācāradīnakara*, Pt. II—Pratiṣṭhādhikāra 34. 14.

(11) Cakrāsibhratkūrmaganīlamurte gṛhāṇa Gāndhāri taṁdaghṛgaṅdham //

Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra 3. 46.

(12) tvāṁ siṁhagāmāttadarpasarpāṁ yajñesya Vairoṭi yajebhranīlām //

Pratīṣṭhāsāroddhāra 3. 49

Also consult, *Pratiṣṭhāsārasaṁgraha 6.13.*

(13) Mahāmānasīṁ dhavalavarṇāṁ siṁhavāhanaṁ caturbhujāṁ varadāsiyuktadakṣiṇakarāṁ kuṇḍikāphalakayutavāmahastāṁ ceti //

Nirvāṇakalikā, p. 37.

Also consult, *Mantrādhirājakalpa 3. 18*

(14) Kara khaḍgaratnavaradāḍhyapāṇibhṛcchaśinibhā makaragamanā /

Ācāradinakara, Pt. II *Pratiṣṭhādhikāra 34. 16*

(15) *Mantrādhirājakalpa 3. 11*

(16) Kokaśṛtāṁ vajrasarojahastāṁ yaje sitāṁ Puruṣadattike tvām //

Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra 3. 42.

Also consult *Pratiṣṭhātilakam 7. 6.*

(17) Apraticakrāṁ taḍidvarṇāṁ garuḍavāhanāṁ caturbhujāṁ cakracatuṣṭayabhūṣitakarāṁ ceti //

Nirvāṇakalikā, p. 37.

(18) Shah, U. P., *op. cit.*, pp. 127-32.

(19) Yastannatārcā bhaja Kāli bharmaprabhā mṛgastha muśalāsihastā //

Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra 3. 43.

Also see, *Pratiṣṭhātilakam 7 7*

(20) …………śikhisthā /

Jāmbūnadābhā dhṛtakhaḍgakuntā Jāmbūnade svīkuru yajñabhāgam //

Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra 3. 41

Also see *Pratiṣṭhātilakam 7. 5.*

ICONOGRAPHIC FEATURES OF THE SIXTEEN JAINA MAHĀVIDYĀS

Here we propose to discuss the iconographic features of each of the Sixteen Jaina Mahāvidyās as enunciated in the iconographic texts of both the Śvetāmbara and the Digambara sects. We deem it necessary to write at the out set something about the iconographic texts in respect of their affiliation, date and author's name.

(A) Śvetāmbara Texts :

(1) *Caturviṁśatikā* of Bappabhaṭṭi Sūri—*c.* 743-838 A. D. (abbreviated as *Caturviṁ*), (2) *Caturviṁśati Stotra* of Śobhana Muni—Latter half of 10th century A. D. (elsewhere as *Stotra*), (3) *Nirvāṇakalikā* of Pādalipta Sūri-c. 10th century A. D. (elsewhere as *Nirvāṇa*). (4) *Mantrādhirājakalpa* of Sāgara Candra Sūri—date controversial-probably 12th century A. D. (elsewhere as *Mantra.*), (5) *Ācāra-dinakara* of Vardhamāna Sūri—1412 A. D. (elsewhere as *Ācāra*).

(B) Digambara Texts :

(1) *Pratiṣṭhāsārasaṁgraha* of Vasunandi c. 12th century A. D. (elsewhere as *Saṁgraha*), (2) *Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra* of Āśādhara c. 13th century A. D. (elsewhere *Sāroddhāra*), (3) *Pratiṣṭhātilakam* of Nemicandra 1543 A. D. (elsewhere as *Tilakam*), (4) *Sārasvata-yantra-Pūjā* of Śubhacandra-date not known (elsewhere as *Yantra-Pūjā*).

We may note here that the prescriptions of the later works, however, have been mentioned only in such cases where they supply us with some new informations.

(1) Rohiṇī :

(A) Śvetāmbara-Caturviṁ and *Nirvāṇa* : 4—armed; Mount Cow; Holds Arrow, Rosary, Bow, Conch; (*B*) *Digambara* : (i) *Saṁgraha*, *Sāroddhāra* and *Tilakam* :—4—armed; *Mt*—Lotus; Carries—*Kalaśa*, Conch, Lotus, Fruit (or *Mātuliṅga*), (ii) *Yantra-pūjā*.—Mt. Lotus; Bears—Spear, Lotus, Varada, Fruit.

(2) Prajñapti :

(A) Śvet.—(i) *Caturviṁ* :—Mt.—Peacock; Holds—*Śakti*, (ii) *Stotra*; calls her as Śaktikarā, (iii) *Nirvāṇa* :—4—armed, Mt. Peacock; shows—*Varada*, *Śakti*, Citron, Śakti, (iv) *Ācāra : Mt.* Peacock, Carries—*Śakti* and Lotus, (v) *Mantra :* Holds—Trident, Staff, *Abhaya*, Citron; (*B*) *Dig :* (i) *Sāroddhāra : Mt.*—Horse, Bears—*Khaḍga* and Disc. (ii) *Tilakam*. Disc, Sword, Conch, *Varada;* (iii) *Saṁgraha :* It merely refers to *Khaḍga*.

(3) Vajraśṛṅkhalā :

(*A*) *Śvet* : (i) *Caturviṁ* and *Stotra* : Mt.—Lotus, Chain in one or both hands; (ii) *Nirvāṇa* and *Mantra :* Mt. Lotus; Carries—*Varada*, Chain in two hands, Lotus; (iii) *Ācāra :* Mt.—Lotus; Bears—Chain and Club; (*B*) *Dig*. (i) *Sāroddhāra* : Mt. Lotus; Bears—Chain in one or both the hands, (ii) *Tilakam :* Holds—Chain, Conch, Lotus, Citron, (iii) *Yantra-pūjā* : Mt.—Elephant; Holds—*Vajra*, (iv), *Saṁgraha*—It merely refers to chain.

(4) Vajrāṅkuśā :

(*A*) *Śvet. :* (i) *Caturviṁ* and *Stotra :* Mt.—Elephant; Bears—Thunderbolt and Goad; (ii) *Nirvāṇa* : 4—armed; Mt.- Elephant; Holds—*Varadɪ*, *Vajra*, Citron, *Aṅkuśa*; (iii) *Ācāra* : Mt.—Elephant; Carries—Sword, Thunderbolt, Shield, Spear; (iv) *Mantra* : Mt.—Elephant, Holds—Furit, Rosary, Goad, Trident. (*B*) *Ḍig* : *Saṁgraha* : It merely refers to *Aṅkuśa* symbol; (ii) *Sāroddhāra :* Mt. *Puṣpayāna*, Holds : Goad, (iii) *Tilakam :* Holds—Goad, Lotus, Citron; (iv) *Yantra-pūjā* : Mt. Elephant; Holds—Thuderbolt, Goad.

(5) Apraticakrā :

(A) *Śvet.* : (i) *Caturviṁ*, *Stotra* and *Ācāra* : Mt.—*Garuḍa*; Holds—Discs in all her hands; (ii) *Nirvāṇa* : Wields—Discs in all her four hands; (iii) *Mantra* : Mt.—Man; Bears—Discs in hands; (B) *Dig*—Appellation—*Jāmbunadā* : (i) *Sāroddhāra* and *Yantra-pūjā* : *Mt.* —Peacock; Carries—Sword, Spear; (ii) *Tilakam* : Holds—Sword, Spear, Lotus, Citron; (iii) *Saṁgraha* : It merely refers to Sword.

(6) Naradattā or Puruṣadattā :

(A) *Śvet*: — (i) *Caturviṁ* : *Mt.*—Buffalo; Holds—Sword, (ii) *Stotra and Ācārn* : Mt. Buffalo; Bears—Sword, Shield; (iii) *Nirvāṇa* : 4—armed; Mt.—Buffalo; Carries—*Varada*, Sword, Shield, Citron; (iv) *Mantra :* Mt. Lotus; Holds—Sword, Shield, Citron, Abhaya; (B) *Dig* :—(i) *Sāroddhāra* : Mt.—Cakravāka (ruddy goose); Holds—*Vajra*, Lotus; (ii) *Tilakam* : Bears—*Vajra*, Lotus, Conch, Fruit; (iii) *Saṁgraha* : It merely mentions V*ajra as* her symbol.

(7) Kālī :

(A) *Śvet* :—(i) *Caturviṁ* : Mt.—Lotus; Betrays - Club, Rosary, (ii) *Nirvāṇa* : 4—armed; Rosary, Mace, V*ajra*, *Abhaya*, (iii) *Mantra* : Mt.—Lotus; Bears—Trident, Rosary, V*arada*, Club; (B) *Dig*. : (i) *Sāroddhāra* : Mt.—Deer; Holds—Pestle, Sword; (ii) *Tilakam* : Bears—Pestle, Sword, Lotus, Fruit. (iii) *Saṁgraha* : It merely prescribes *Musala* for 4—armed Mahāvidyā.

(8) Mahākālī :

(A) *Śvet.* : (i) *Caturviṁ*, *Stotra* and *Ācāra :* 4—armed; Mt.—Man; Holds—V*ajra*, Fruit, Bell, Rosary; (ii) *Nirvāṇa* : Bears—Rosary, V*ajra*, *Abhaya*, Bell; (iii) *Mantra* :

Lotus, Rosary, *Varada*, Bell; (B) *Dig.* : –(i) *Sāroddhāra and Tilakam* : Mt. *Śarabha* (fabulous animal); Holds—Bow, Sword, Fruit, Arrow; (ii) *Yantra-pūjā* : Mt.—*Aṣṭāpada*—animal; Bears—Sword, Bow; (iii) *Saṁgraha* : For 4—armed goddess, it provides only Vajra.

(9) Gaurī :

(A) *Śvet.* : (i) *Caturviṁ* and *Stotra* : These refer to mere Lotus Symbol; (ii) *Nirvāṇa* and *Ācāra* : Mt.—*Godhā* (Alligator); Holds—*Varada*,Pestle,Rosary, Lotus; (iii) *Mantra* : Mt. Bull, Bears—Lotus, Rosary, *Varada*, Staff; (B) *Dig.* : All texts unanimously envisage Lotus as symbol and Alligator as vāhana.

(10) Gāndhārī :

(A) *Śvet* : (i) *Caturviṁ, Stotra and Ācāra* : Mt.—Lotus; Holds - *Vajra*, Pestle; (ii) *Nirvāṇa* : Mt.—Lotus; Bears - *Varada*, Pestle, *Abhaya*, *Varada*; (iii) *Mantra* : Mt. Lotus; Betrays—Trident, Staff, *Abhaya*, *Varada*; (B) *Dig.* : (i) *Sāroddhāra, Tilakam and Yantra pūjā* : Mt. Tortoise; Holds-Disc, Sword; (ii) *Saṁgraha* : 4—armed. It envisages disc only.

(11) Sarvāstra Mahājvālā or Jvālāmālinī :

According to Hemacandra, she is so called because large flames of fire issue from all the weapons held by her, hence Jvālā being her chief symbol. (A) *Śvet.* : (i) *Nirvāṇa* : Mt. Boar; Holds—innumerable weapons; (ii) *Ācāra* : Mt. Cat; Wields—Fire-branded in both hands; (iii) *Mantra* : Mt. Goose, Bears—Serpent in each of four hands; (B) *Dig.* : (i) *Saṁgraha* : 8 – armed. Holds—Bow, Sword, Shield; (ii) *Sāroddhāra* and *Yantra-pūjā* : Mt. Buffalo; Wields—Bow, Shield, Sword, Disc. (iii) *Tilakam* : 8—armed, Bow,Arrow and such other weapons and shines with flames.

(12) Mānavī :

(A) *Śvet.* : (i) *Caturviṁ* and *Stotra* : Mt. Lotus; Holds—Fine Tree : full of fruits and foliage; (ii) *Nirvāṇa* : Mt. Lotus; Wields—*Varada*, Noose, Rosary, Tree. (iii) *Ācāra* : Mt.—Blue Lotus;Carries—Tree; (iv) *Mantra*: Bears—Tree,Rosary,*Varada*; (B) *Dīg.* : (i) *Sāroddhāra* : Mt. Hog, Holds—Fish, Trident; (ii) *Tilakam* : Wields—Fish, Sword, Trident; (iii) *Saṁgraha* : refers to Trident only.

(13) Vairoṭyā or Vairoṭī :

(A) *Śvet.* (i) *Caturviṁ* : Holds—snake, sword; (ii) *Stotra* : Mt.—Cobra; Bears—sword; (iii) *Nirvāṇa* and *Mantra* : Mt. Cobra (in former text) and *Garuḍa* (in latter text); Holds—Snake, Shield, Sword, Snake; (iv) *Ācāra* : Mt. Lion; Wields—sword, Shield, Snake, *Varada*; (B) *Dig.* (i) *Saṁgraha* : 4—armed; Holds—Snake; (ii) *Sāroddhāra, Tilakam and Yantra-pūjā* : Mt. Lion; Bears—Snake (Number of hands are not specified.)

(14) Acchuptā or Acyutā :

(A) *Śvet* : (i) *Caturviṁ* : Mt. Horse; Bears—Sword, Bow, (ii) *Stotra* and *Ācāra* : Mt. Horse; Holds—Bow, Shield, Sword, Arrow; (iii) *Nirvāṇa* : Mt. Horse; Wields—Sword, Arrow, Shield, *Snakē;* (iv) *Mantra :* Sword, *Asipatra,* Arrow, Shield; (B) *Dig.* : (i) *Saṁgraha* : 4—armed; It merely refers to *Vajra* symbol; (ii) *Sāroddhāra, Tilakam* and *Yantra—pūjā* : Mt. Horse; Holds—white sword.

(15) Mānasī :

(A) *Śvet.* (i) *Caturviṁ* : Holds Burning *Heti,* (ii) *Stotra* : Bears *Vajra* alone, (iii) *Niṛvāṇa* : Mt. Swan, Wields—*Varada, Vajra,* Rosary, *Vajra,* (iv) *Ācāra* : Mt. swan, Carries – *Vajra, Varada,* (v) *Mantra* : Mt. Swan, Betrays - Trident, Rosary, (B) *Dig.* : All the works visualize her with hands folded in *Namaskāra-mudrā.*

(16) Mahāmānasī :

(A) *Śvet.* : (i) *Catuṛviṁ* : Mt. Lion, Holds—Sword, Shield, Jewel, *Kuṇḍikā.* (ii) *Stotra* : Mt. Lion, Bears—Sword, (iii) *Nirvāṇa and Mantra* : Mt Lion, Wields—*Varada* (*Abhaya*), Sword, Pitcher, Shield, (iv) *Ācāra* : Mt. Crocodile, Carries—Sword, Shield, Jewel, *Varada*; (B) *Dig.* (i) *Saṁgraha* : She merely shows *Praṇāma-mudrā,* (ii) *Sāroddhāra and Tilakam* : Mt. Swan, Holds—*Varada,* Rosary Goad, Garland.

The *Nirvāṇakalikā* envisages a special mudrā for each of the Sixteen Mahāvidyās.[1] These mudras suggest the chief identifying symbols of the 16—Mahāvidyās. The 16 mudrās are as follows:—(1) *Saṅkha,* (2) *Śakti,* (3) *Śṛṅkhalā,* (4) *Vajra,* (5) *Cakra,* (6) *Padma,* (7) *Gadā,* (8) *Ghaṇṭa,* (9) *Kamaṇḍalu,* (10) *Paraśu,* (11) *Paraśu* (of another mode), (12) *Vṛkṣa;* (13) *Sarpa,* (14) *Khaḍga,* (15) *Jvalana,* (16) *Śrī-Maṇi.*

Foot-note

[1] Consult, Shah, U. P., 'Iconography of the Sixteen Jaina Mahāvidyās', *Jour, Indian Society of Oriental Art,* Vol. XV, 1947, p. 168.

V

MINOR DEITIES

BĀHUBALĪ IMAGES FROM NORTH INDIA

Bāhubalī, the second son of the first Jina Ṛṣabhanātha was born of his junior queen Sunandā. His step-brother Bharata who became Cakravartin succeeding his father, ruled from Vinītā; while Bāhubalī—known as Gommaṭeśvara in South India—was ruling from Takṣaśilā. (The Digambara tradition makes Bāhubalī rule from Podanasa or Podanapura). After gaining the victory in a duel with his elder brother Bharata, Bāhubalī turned ascetic and performed very rigorous austerities. For one whole year he stood in *kāyotsarga-mudrā* (the attitude of dismissing the body) and in the end obtained *kevala-jñāna* (omniscience). The fierce austerities of Bāhubalī have been narrated in literature[1], as well as suggested in sculpture.[2] The Bāhubalī representations show snakes issuing out of the ant-hills which developed near his feet and creepers entwined round his body, suggesting the long period of time in which he was absorbed in *tapas* and meditation. Furthermore, the figures of the snakes, lizards and scorpions shown creeping over Bāhubalī's body also project and reinforce the same idea. The erect posture of Bāhubalī is symbolic of perfect self-control, while the nudity implies absolute renunciation achieved after a complete victory over passions.

The life and *tapas* of Bāhubalī are narrated in detail in the scriptures of both the sects of the Jainas. Somehow, the Bāhubalī worship was not so popular in the Śvetāmbara sect as it was in the Digambara one. U. P. Shah records only two Śvetāmbara images of Bāhubalī, which in keeping with the white-clad tradition, show him with *dhotī*. These come from the Vimala Vasahī, Delwāḍā, Mt. Ābū (12th cent. A D.), Rajasthan and the Ādinātha temple, Mt Śatruñjaya, Gujarat.[3]

Besides, the author has also noticed a Śvetāmbara representation of Bāhubalī in a bay of the Śāntinātha temple (11th century A. D.) at Kumbhāriā in North Gujarat. The bay, attached to the *raṅgamaṇḍapa* on the west, represents the five chief auspicious events (*Pañca-kalyāṇakas*) from the life of Ṛṣabhanātha and it also shows, in the third band, the scene of the fight between Bharata and Bāhubalī. It also contains a figure of Bāhubalī wearing a *dhotī* and standing in the *kāyotsarga*-pose. A climbing plant twines round his arms, legs and chest. To the left of Bāhubalī stand two female figures with hands folded in supplication. These figures are labelled below as Brāhmī and Sundarī, the two sisters of Bāhubalī.

It is generally believed that the occurrence of the Bāhubalī images is more frequent in South India than in North India.[4] But a detailed study of some Digambara sites in the North does reveal some cult images of Bāhubalī. This bears testimony to at least one fact, that in the Digambara Community of North India, Bāhubalī was accorded the same favoured position as he enjoyed in South.

Of the five images so far reported, three are as yet not illustrated; the images so far published are from Deogarh, U. P. and Prabhāsa Pāṭaṇa, Gujarat.

The image of Bāhubalī hailing from Prabhāsa Pāṭaṇa, Gujarat, now deposited in the Junagarh Museum, is much mutilated but the ant-hills and the shade of a tree overhead with two hovering *mālādharas* are clearly visible.[5] The sky-clad Bāhubalī stands in the *kāyotsarga-mudrā* with his hands and thighs entwined by a climbing plant. On both his sides are rendered two standing figures, now severely damaged. The image hewn out of buff-coloured sandstone is assigned, on stylistic grounds, to *c.* 9th century A. D. It is perhaps the earliest image of Bāhubalī hitherto discovered from North India.

The next image of Bāhubalī, coming as it does from Khajurāho (M. P.), is perhaps the second earliest image of Bāhubalī from North India. This sculpture carved on the southern outer wall of the main temple of the Pārśvanātha temple (*c.* 950-70 A.D.), is also the only example of a Bāhubalī image in Khajurāho. Bāhubalī,nude and in *kāyotsarga-mudrā*, with arms reaching down to the knees, stands on a simple pedestal supported by two round pilasters at the two extremities. A carpet bearing a flower design hangs down from the pedestal, below which, in the centre, is carved a *dharmacakra* flanked by two lions, suggesting *siṁhāsana*. The creepers entwine the legs and the arms of Bāhubalī, while on the chest and belly parts creep lizards and scorpions. His chest is marked with the *śrīvatsa* symbol and the hair is in the usual schematic curls. On either side of Bāhubalī stands a female attendant figure holding the end of the twisting vine. These female attendants are peculiar to the North Indian Bāhubalī images only. (The two female figures, perhaps, represent the two *vidyādharīs*, who, according to the Digambara *Purāṇas*[6], removed the entwining creepers from the body of Bāhubalī). The South Indian Bāhubalī images in Ellorā and Aihole, though nude, show the standing figures of the two sisters of Bāhubalī dressed like princesses, wearing crown and other ornaments. The depiction of the sisters was omitted in all known Digambara sculptures of Bāhubalī from North India, in accordance with the Digambara tradition which does not speak about the presence of the two sisters at the time of Bāhubalī's attainment of *kevala-jñāna*. Beside these female figures, there appears, on either side, a flywhisk-bearer. A single umbrella, instead of the triple one, is depicted overhead, and on either side of it is shown a flying *mālādhara*.[7] The flywhisk-bearers, *mālādharas*, *śrīvatsa* symbol, and the lion pedestal—all being invariable features of the Jina images of Khajurāho and elsewhere—tend to show that the rendering of the present Bāhubalī image was actually influenced by most conventions of fashioning the Jina images. The image is in buff-coloured sandstone. It measures 29×24 in, approximately.

Before describing the other Bāhubalī images, it would perhaps be appropriate here to mention the two other rather small figures of Bāhubalī, belonging to c. 11th century A. D. at Khajurāho. Of these, one is on the left jamb of the *parīkara* of a seated image of Ādinātha, now installed in the Modern temple No. 17. Here the vines reach over the thighs, arms and chest of Bāhubalī in a traditional manner and the straight locks of hair fall on his shoulders. The other figure carved on the right extremity (beside middle Jina figure) of a door-lintel, now preserved in the Archaeological Museum, Khajurāho (Acc. no. 1724), likewise shows the climbing plant clinging to the legs and arms of Bāhubalī. The depiction of these small figures in the group of miniature Jina figures demonstrates that at Khajurāho Bāhubalī was doubtless given veneration equal to that of the Jinas.

The third image of Bāhubalī is on display in the State Museum, Lucknow (Acc. no. 940). The image, carved out of red sandstone and measuring 49.4×18 in., dates from c. 10th century A. D. on stylistic grounds. Although the find-spot of the sculpture has not been given in the labelling of the museum, it seems,on the basis of its material, to have originated somewhere in Uttar Pradesh, more probably from the Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, Mathurā, an ancient Jaina site. The head and feet of this Bāhubalī are damaged. The legs and the hands of sky-clad Bāhubalī support creepers. The chest and the thighs also exhibit lizards and scorpions. Round his neck is rendered a snake; and above his head is carved a much mutilated *chatra* with two drooping leaves. Two female attendants, facing Bāhubalī on either side, are holding creeper-ends. Bāhubalī wearing the *śrīvatsa* symbol and holding lotus-flowers in his hanging arms, a feature introduced some time in the 10th century, has a lotus nimbus behind his head.

The fourth sculpture (39×21 in.), published by Klaus Bruhn in his work *The Jina-Images of Deogarh,* was lying in the Temple No. 12 at Deogarh (U. P.) but now it has been deposited in the neighbouring Sahū Jain Dharmaśālā Museum. The image, of about the 10th century A.D. stands on a tripartite pedestal. Bāhubalī as elsewhere, has the *śrīvatsa* mark on his chest. His legs and arms are wound about by a climbing plant; a lizard and a scorpion are also there on his left and right leg respectively. A feature of this image is the representation of a snake clinging to his chest with its tail hanging down the right side over the abdomen. The hair, combed back in *jaṭā*-fashion, falls on the shoulders in the form of unplaited strands. The slightly oblong halo of Bāhubalī is carved with a blossom circlet and a band filled with small dots. Here again the parasol is single. Bāhubalī is, as in the previous instance, flanked by two standing female figures holding the ends of the creeper.

The last sculpture of Bāhubalī, which comes from Bilhari, situated in Jabalpur district, Madhya Pradesh, shows him standing on a double-petalled lotus pedestal. The pedestal, like the Bāhubalī image from Khajurāho, is borne by two rampant lions. From the pedestal hangs the covering cloth, below which is shown a *dharmacakra*. At the two extremities of the pedestal appear two seated Jina figures. Bāhubalī has the *śrīvatsa* symbol, and hair arranged in small curls with an *uṣṇīṣa*-protuberance. Behind the head is a halo showing a blossom-circlet only. A creeper consisting of meandering stems and leaves entwines his legs, arms and chest. Above the head of Bāhubalī is a much damaged triple parasol supported by a stick and surmounted by a drum, struck by a figure whose body is not shown[8]. On both sides of Bāhubalī, on separate lotus pedestals, in *tribhaṅga* pose, stand the two female attendant figures holding the ends of the climbing plant. Above these figures there appear, on each flank, six small standing Jina figures, one above the other. Above each shoulder of Bāhubalī are also sculptured, in a vertical row, three diminutive seated Jina figures. All the Jina figures are shown on separate lotus pedestals. Sporadically represented small Jina figures, the lion-pedestal, the nimbus and the triple parasol surmounted by a drum-beater—all, like those of the Bāhubalī image from Khajurāho, betray a definite bearing of the iconography of the contemporary Jina images on the present image. The sculpture about 47 in. in height is hewn out of buff-coloured sandstone and can tentatively be ascribed to the 11th century A.D. on the basis both of style and iconography.

It would also be appropriate here to take note of a small figure of sky-clad Bāhubalī, sheltered in a pillared niche carved on the right corner of a door-lintel from Bilhari. Here Bāhubalī likewise stands on a pedestal supported by two lions, much damaged, with a *dharmacakra* in the centre, over which hangs the carpet. The vines reach over the knees and arms of Bāhubalī; while on the thighs there appear two snakes. On his chest, probably, creep the lizard and scorpion. A departure from the tradition, however, can be noticed in the two female figures, flanking Bāhubalī, who, instead of holding the ends of the creeper, have their arms folded in the attitude of adoration. Here the drum-beater surmounting the triple umbrella and the flying *mālādharas* are not present. Hair disposed in curls shows an *uṣṇīṣa*-protuberance. The lintel can safely be dated *c*. 10th century A. D.

Certain conclusions can now be drawn from the data we have noticed concerning the iconographic peculiarities of Bāhubalī representations in North India. None of our images is surrounded by ant-hills with serpents issuing out[9], nor do they show, like those of the South Indian images the figures of the two sisters of Bāhubalī, Brāhmī and Sundarī. On the other hand, they show some new features, not found in any of the South Indian images. First, the lion pedestal with covering cloth and the *dharmacakra*, carved in three examples, and the umbrellas, which in two examples are single and in two others triple, are a feature of the North Indian Bāhubalī images[10]. Second, the depiction of creeping lizards and scorpions on the body of Bāhubalī is a convention restricted to the North Indian images[11]. Third, the standing figures of the two female attendants, facing Bāhubalī, holding the ends of the creeper are also peculiar to the North Indian Bāhubalī figures, especially those belonging to the Digambara tradition[12]. All the images of the Śvetāmbara tradition, known from the Vimala Vasahī temple, Rajasthan, the Ādinātha temple, Mt. Śatruñjaya, Gujarat, and the Śāntinātha temple at Kumbhāriā, Gujarat, show, in consonance with the Śvetāmbara tradition[13], the figures of the two sisters. Furthermore, the Bāhubalī images showing the casual representations of the lion pedestals, small Jina figures, attendant flywhisk-bearers, garland-bearing celestial beings, the *bhāmaṇḍalas*, umbrellas, surmounted in one example by a drum-beater, and the *śrīvatsa* symbols, in all the figures, as pointed out earlier, bear witness to their affinity to the Jina images. And the minor variations, seen among these Northern images, can be explained as local influences, in a particular period and region, where the art and theory influenced each other. The point where the two major traditions agree is the presence of climbing plants entwining the legs and arms of Bāhubalī, always standing in *kāyotsarga-mudrā*.

Postscript

During his recent visit to Deogarh, the author came to notice six representations of Bāhubalī, two of which have already been illustrated by Klaus Bruhn. Two tiny figures represent Bāhubalī as standing in *kāyotsarga-mudrā* with rising creepers winding round his arms and legs. One of the tiny figures is carved on a pillar of the porch of the Temple No. 12 and another is at the right end of the door-lintel of the Temple No. 19. The former figure of Bāhubalī is attended on the left by a female *caurī*-bearer, while the corresponding female on the right holds a *kalaśa*. The other three figures are significant since they follow a homogeneous formula of the Jina representation, in effect throughout the country during the early mediaeval period and onwards. The occurrence of such a close similarity in the rendering of the two strengthens the author's view that at least in the Digambara community, as is evident from the sculptures, Bāhubalī was accorded a status equal to that of the Jinas. Of the three images, two are enshrined in the Temple No. 2 and one in the Temple No. 11.

One of the two images (27 × 15 in.) installed in the Temple No. 2, shows Bāhubalī as standing nude in *kāyotsarga-mudrā* on a *siṁhāsana* with two devotees sitting at his feet and two *cāmaradhara* attendants flanking him (Fig. 40). Bāhubalī is endowed with a triple parasol topped by a prostrate figure beating a drum and two hovering *mālādharas* carved at the sides. Both the legs of Bāhubalī are entwined by a climbing plant; and his arms support two snakes. The figures of lizards, snakes and scorpions are also carved creeping on the legs in the intervening space free from creepers. Bāhubalī wears the *śrīvatsa* symbol on his chest and has his hair done in curls with a small top-knot. At left of Bāhubalī, in front of a pilaster, sits a royal figure; he may represent Bharata, his elder brother.

The otber Bāhubalī image, a unique one, in the same temple is a *trī-tīrthika* image (26×21.3 in.) showing Bāhubalī standing with two other Jinas, identified, by comparison of cognizances, with Śitalanātha and Abhinandana (Fig 41). Each of these three figures stands in *kāyotsarga-mudrā* on a *siṁhāsana* with hanging carpet and *dharmacakra*. At the feet of each figure, accompanied by two flywhisk-bearers, sit two devotees with hands folded in supplication. Each haloed figure is provided with three-tiered umbrella with a figure (the lower part of whose body is not shown) beating a drum and two flying *mālādharas* sculptured on the sides. The legs of Bāhubalī, standing on the extreme left (viewer's standpoint), support meandering vines; and round the arms are coiled two snakes. Both the images of the Temple No. 2, assignable to the 11th century A. D., are fashioned from buff sandstone. However, the *vidyādharīs* are not repesented, and in their places two *cāmaṛadharas*, invariably associated with Jina images, have been carved.

Third, and again a unique, image (42×28 in.), installed in the Temple No. 11 is datable to the 12th century A. D. It represents sky-clad Bāhubalī standing in *kāyotsarga-mudrā* on a *siṁhāsana* with a *dharmacakra* in the centre. The most striking feature of the image, which makes it peculiar, is a representation of the *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* figures, occupying two recessed corners of the throne. It is to be noted here that the *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* figures are conceived as the *śāsanādevatās* of the Jinas, this being the only instance violating the convention. This case should, therefore, be interpreted as the sculptor's inclination to give Bāhubalī a status as honourable as that of the Jinas.

The two-armed *Yakṣa* sitting on the right possesses a bull-face and shows the *abhaya-mudrā* with the right hand while the corresponding left bears a water-vessel. The two-armed *Yakṣī*, sitting on the left, also displays the *abhayamudrā* with the right while the left carries a water-vessel.[14] At the feet of Bāhubalī sit two adorers with folded hands. Bāhubalī with *śrīvatsa* mark in the chest is endowed with vines clinging round his legs and arms. On his belly is carved a creeping snake with its top shown close to the *śrīvatsa* symbol, and two snakes and two scorpions are also creeping on his legs. On each flank of Bāhubalī stands a *vidyādharī*, wearing *mukuṭa*, necklaces, scarf, *dhotī* tied with a girdle, and holding the end of the climbing plant in the inner hand, while the outer hand is resting on thigh. Above the *vidyādharī* figures on each side there appears a diminutive figure of a standing Jina Over each shoulder of Bāhubalī is again sculptured a tiny figure of a seated Jina. The hair of Bāhubalī with three lateral strands hanging over each shoulder is disposed in spirals with a protuberance. The halo is composed of lotus petals with beaded border. Over his head is carved a *chatra-ṭrayī* surmounted by a figure (lower part of body not shown) beating a drum and two drooping leaves delineated on the sides. A couple of flying figures, the male carrying a vase and the female a flywhisk, is carved at each top side. Further above there again appears a single poised figure with a garlnd on each side.

The author holds a firm view that during the early mediaeval period and onwards there was a tendency in the Digambara Jainas to raise Bāhubalī's status to be equal to that of the Jinas, as can be seen in many an example of that period all over Northern India as already discussed in the article. The above evidence of the depiction of Bāhubalī with two Jinas in the Temple No. 2, and, especially, with the *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* figures in the Temple No. 11 at Deogarh. also comprising almost all other features of the Jina images, illustrates the point all the more effectively.

Foot-notes

(1) *Ādipurāṇa* (*Mahāpurāṇa*) of Jinasena (*c.* 9th century) 36.106-85 : vol. II, pp. 209-17, ed. Pt Pannalal Jain, Varanasi, 1965; *Paumacariyam* of Ācarya Vimalasūri 4.54-55 : Part I,pp. 34-35, ed. H, Jacobi, Varanasi, 1962; *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa* of Jinasena(last quarter of the 8th century A. D.), 11.98-102; p 205, ed. Pt Pannalal Jain Varanasi, 1962; *Trīṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra* of Hemacandra, *Ādiśvaracaritra* (*c.* mid 12th century A. D.) V. 740-798: vol. I, pp. 323-36, transl. H. M. Johnson, (*Gaekwad's Oriental Series* LI), Baroda, 1931; *Padma Purāṇa* of Raviṣeṇācārya (7th century A. D.), I 4.75-76: p. 62, ed. Pannalal Jain, Varanasi, 1958.

(2) Shah, U. P.– "Bāhubalī : A Unique Bronze in the Museum," *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay*, No. 4, 1953-54, pp. 32-39: Tiwari, M. N. P, "Jaina Śilpa mein Bāhubalī", *Anekānta*, yr. 24, No, 1. April 1971, pp. 8-11.

(3) Shah, U.P. "Bāhubaiī" *op. cit.*, p. 36, Shah, U. P., Jaina Stories in Stone in the Delvāḍā Temples, Mt. Ābu', *Jaina Yuga*, Sept. 1959, pp. 39-40.

(4) Surendranatha Sh. Jain, *Colossus* of *Shravaṇbelgola and other Jain Shrines* of *Deccan*, Bombay, 1953, p. 10 : according to him, 'We find such colossuses at Karkal, Venur, Gommatagiri and also at Ellora Jaina Caves. No image of Bahubali is to be found in North India and excepting one at Ellora he is conspicuous by intraceable elsewhere in the north of river Krishna', and also Shah, "Bāhubalī" *op. cit.*, p. 34: he remarks, "Images of Bāhubalī are not so common in North India though a few mediaeval images are known to exist in the territory that was formerly Gwalior State and is now in Madhya Bharat, while much later bronzes are found in Digambara shrines all over India", The first statement has been proved to be wrong on the strength of the available images from North India, while the statement by Shah needs correction in the light of new finds.

(5) Dhaky, M. A., and Shastri H. P. : Ancient Jaina Temples of Prabhāsa Pāṭaṇa (Gujarātī), *Swādhyāya*, Vol. 3, No. 3, pp. 328-29.

(6) Lataṁ vyapanayantībhyāṁ khecarībhyāṁ babhau muniḥ /
Harivaṁśa Purāṇa, 11.101.

Cf. : Vidyādharyaḥ kadācic=ca krīḍā-heto=upāgatāḥ /
Vallīr=ud-veṣṭayāmāsur muneḥ sarv=āṅgasaṅginīḥ / /
Ādipurāṇa, vol. II, 36.183.

(7) Possibly because he is *kevalī* but not Jina.

(8) However, it is an exception which shows a triple parasol, instead of a single one, surmounted by a drum-beater. Another instance of such exception is available in another figure, rather small, of Bāhubalī from the same place.

(9) The Prabhāsa Pāṭaṇa image, referred to earlier, however, is an exception, which shows ant-hills.

(10) However, an image of Bāhubalī from Ellorā shows a single parasol.

(11) The Bilhari and Prabhāsa Pāṭaṇa examples, however, do not show this feature.

(12) However, a small figure of Bāhubalī from Bilhari does not show this feature.

(13) "When the year was completed, Vṛṣabha-bannered, the Blessed One, kind to all, summoned Brāhmī and Sundarī and said : "He does not attain kevala-jñāna because of his pride...At the speech of you two, now he will abandon pride at once"...Brāhmī and Sundarī went to Bāhubalī...they made pradakṣiṇā three times, paid homage to the great muni, Bāhubalī...*Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣa caritra*, *Ādiśvaracaritra*, transl. JOHNSON, *op. cit.*, pp. 325-26.

(14) This singular instance representing the cow-faced *Yakṣa*—conforming to the standard form only in face—with Bāhubalī probably intends to suggest the relation of the latter with Ṛṣabhanātha, with whom the cow-faced *Yakṣa* is traditionally associated. There is, however, no distinguishing feature, other than the above, about the *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* pair. Depiction of lateral strands with Bāhubalī, once again, attests the relation of Bāhubalī with Ṛṣabhanātha.

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BHARATA CAKRAVARTIN AT DEOGARH

Bharata occupies an exalted position among both the sects of the Jainas. His name was included in the list of the 63 Great Men (*Śalākāpuruṣas*) of the Jaina pantheon in the early centuries of the Christian era, or even earlier.[1] Bharata, first of the 12 Cakravartins, was the elder son of the first Jina Ṛṣabhanātha. He became Cakravartin succeeding his father and ruled from Vinitā.The detailed story of the life of Bharata and his fight with Bāhubalī and consequent renunciation is mentioned in the Śvetāmbara and Digambara Jaina works of early mediaeval times[2] but somehow Bharata did not claim prominence in sculptural representations. He was incarnated in plastic art in the 10th century A. D. However, the concrete representation of Bharata was more popular with the Digambaras. At Śvetāmbara Jaina sites, he is represented in the narrative panels only, exhibiting scene of fierce fight between Bharata and Bāhubalī. These instances are mainly known from the Kumbhāriā (Śāntinātha Temple-11th century A. D.) and Mt. Ābū (Vimala Vasahī-12th century A. D.).

The Jainas have always attached special significance to the act of austerity. It is for this reason that Bharata was invoked and held in high veneration only when he renounced all the material possessions and took the path of austerity and performed rigorous penance, consequently obtaining omniscience (*kevala-jñāna*). As all the Tīrthaṅkaras and other Great Men performed *tapas* in the *kāyotsarga-mudrā*, so also did Bharata. Bharata possessed *navanidhīs* (nine treasures) and fourteen *ratnas* (Jewels). The nine treasures have the following appellations : Kāla, Mahākāla, Naissarpya, Pāṇḍuka, Padma, Māṇava, Piṅga, Śaṅkha and Sarvaratna,[3] whereas the fourteen jewels comprise *Cakra*, *Chatra* (Umbrella), *Asi* (sword), *Daṇḍa* (staff), *Maṇi* (gem), *Carma* (skin), *Kākiṇī* (cowrie), *Senāpati* (general), *Gṛhapati* (steward), elephant, horse, *Strī* (woman), *Purohita* (priest) and Engineer (or Carpenter).[4] The Jaina works explicitly mention that Bharata, shone always with fourteen Jewels and nine treasures, attained lordship over mankind.

After his *digvijaya*, Bharata asked his 98 brothers to treat him as Cakravartin, who all, at the advice of Ṛṣabhanātha,renounced the world and turned ascetics. Similar request was advanced to Bāhubalī, the seond son of Ṛṣabhanātha, who, however, refused to accept the supremacy of Bharata. Consequently, a fierce struggle broke out between Bharata and Bāhubalī. This battle culminated in duel in which Bāhubalī emerged as the victor. At the highest moment of triumph, the point of futility of worldly success came in the mind of Bāhubalī, who atonce renounced the world and performed *tapas* and consequently obtained omniscience.

One day when Bharata was looking in the mirror, the idea of futility of worldly possessions and lust for sensuous pleasure came to his mind and he atonce decided to quit the world in quest of *kevala-jñāna*. When Indra (Śakra) came to know of this, he paid homage to Bharata who, like the Tīrthaṅkaras and other Great Men, plucked out all his hair in five handfuls and performed *tapas* and ultimately attained omniscience. The *Mahāpurāṇa* clearly states that Bharata prior to renunciation was worshipped only by the kings of his country but after renunciation he attained lordship over three worlds and was worshipped even by the Indras.[5]

In sculptures, Bharata is always portrayed as standing in the *kāyotsarga-mudrā* and absorbed in *tapas* and meditation. As he renounced all the material possessions before retiring to the forest for *tapas*, he is shown without any royal insignia and ornaments on his person. The figures of nine treasures and fourteen jewels, possessed by Bharata as Cakravartin but renounced at the time of renunciation, are also depicted on the pedestal and the *parikara*. The image of Bharata can be distinguished from that of the Tīrthaṅkaras mainly on the basis of the rendering of *navanidhi* and fourteen *ratnas*.

Bharata enjoyed a favoured position at Deogarh. He is represented by five sculptures at the site, which happens to be the highest number of sculptures of Bharata at one place. These Sculptures, measuring approximately 40" x 20", are datable between 10th and the 11th century A. D. The figures, fashioned in buff sandstone, exhibit Bharata as sky-clad and standing in the *kāyotsarga-mudrā* with his arms reaching down to the knees. Of the five figures, two are enshrined in the Temple No. 2, while one is on the eastern wall of the Temple No. 1. One figure is also preserved on the enclosure wall of the Temple No. 12 on north. The remaining one figure is housed in the neighbouring Sāhū Jaina Museum. All the figures are marked with the *śrīvatsa* and the hair, in all the cases, is arranged in curls with an *uṣṇīṣa*. The modelling of the figures is perfect without any sign of stiffness. The limbs are in perfect proportion and the faces are somewhat small. The half-shut eyes suggest deep meditation and inward look.

The first figure, measuring 40" x 20", is preserved in the neighbouring Sāhū Jaina Museum. It was originally enshrined in the Tample No. 12. Bharata stands in the *kāyotsarga-mudrā* on a *triratha* padestal with an aureola decorated with lotus petals. Over the shoulders of Bharata are shown falling hair locks, which at once remind of Ṛṣabhanātha, his father, who is the only Tīrthaṅkara to have falling hair locks on the shoulders. Above the head there is carved a single parasol, somewhat mutilated.[6] At right of Bharata are carved nine vases, symbolic of *nava-nidhi*. The vases are topped by a seated figure of two-armed Kubera, lord of *nidhis*, hence called Dhanada, holding a fruit and a purse respectively in his right and left hands. Further up are shown sword, staff, umbrella, *cakra* and *cowrie*. On left flank there appear, three male figures sitting in *lalitāsana* and holding respectively a plough, a *vajra* and the *abhaya-mudrā*. These figures may be identified with the *Senāpati*, the *Gṛhapati* and the *Priest* (or the Carpenter ?). The figures of horse (with a man holding its rein), elephant and the woman (sitting with its one hand kept near the face) are also depicted on the left side. Thus only eleven of the fourteen jewels have been shown here. The figure is assignable to the 10th century A. D.

The second figure, incorporated in the modern enclosure wall of the Temple No. 12 on north, bears an inscription in *Saṁvat* 1095 (=A. D. 1038). The image measures 41" x 16." Bharata stands in the *kāyotsarga-mudrā* on a simple pedestal. The pedestal exhibits some of the fourteen jewels, such as, the sword (topside down), *Cakra*, *Kākiṇī* (cowrie ?), horse (with a man holding its rein), and the woman.[7] At right extremity (from visitor's standpoint) are carved nine vases, surmounted by a two-armed figure of Kubera, showing the *abhaya-mudrā* and a purse in hands. On the two flanks of Bharata, there appear four tiny figures of the Jinas, standing in the *kāyotsarga-mudrā*. Close to the feet of Bharata, there sit two worshippers with folded hands.

Bharata is flanked by two male attendants, standing and bearing a flywhisk, kept on the shoulder, in one hand while the other hand is resting on thigh. Over his head is a triple parasol with a prostrate figure beating a drum and two flying *mālādharas*. Behind the head is a plain nimbus. The rendering of the *cāmaradharas*, flying *mālādharas*, *tri-chatra*, *bhāmaṇḍala* and *dundubhī-vādaka*, the constituent members of the *aṣṭaprātihāryas*,[8] an indispensable feature of the Tīrthaṅkara images, with Bharata at once suggests that Bharata was given an exalted position at Deogarh and his status was almost equalled to that of a Tīrthaṅkara. The presence of diminutive Jina figures, and the worshippers further reinforces the same proposition. These features are present also in other figures of Bharata at Deogarh. It may be remembered here that at Deogarh the *aṣṭaprātihāryas* and the tiny Jina and *upāsaka* figures were associated with Bāhubalī also.

In two other examples, preserved in the Temple Nos. 1 and 2 and datable to the 11th century A D., Bharata has been portrayed with Tīrthaṅkara and Bāhubalī in *tritīrthika* images. This further underlines the efforts made by the artists at Deogarh to put Bharata at par with the Tīrthaṅkaras, who are called *devādhidevas* by Hemacandra. In case of the Temple No. 1, the simple pedestal contains a *dharmacakra*[9] flanked by the horse and the elephant. At left are rendered three vases,[10] surmounted by sword, *vajra*[11] and *cakra*. Thus only five of the fourteen jewels are shown here. The figure of the Temple No. 2 exhibits the identical features.[12] However, in the present case all the nine vases are carved. Over the head of Bharata is carved a *chatra-trayī*, topped by a disembodied figure beating a drum, with two flying *mālādharas*.

The fifth and the last figure, installed in the Temple No. 2 and measuring 27"x15", is also assignable to the 11th century A. D. (Fig. 37). On the other face of the image is portrayed the figure of Bāhubalī. Bharata here stands on a carpet, hanging from the pedestal and bearing a two-armed male figure with one of his hands being in the *abhaya-mudrā*. The figure may represent either *Senāpati* or *Gṛhapati*. The centre of the pedestal is occupied by the *dharmacakra* flanked by the figures of horse and elephant. Close to the feet of Bharata, there sits, on left, a female figure, representing a jewel, with her one hand being kept near the chin. On the right flank of Bharata, there appear the *cakra*, the *cowrie*, the *vajra* and the sword. Thus in all only eight jewels have been carved in the present sculpture. At right extremity are depicted nine vases, arranged in three rows and topped by a two-armed figure of Kubera, bearing a purse. Over the head of Bharata is a triple parasol superimposed by a prostrate figure, beating a drum and joined by two *mālādhara* gandharvas.

Foot-notes

(1) The lists of the 63 *Śalākāpuruṣas* or *Mahāpuruṣas* (Great Souls) include the 24 *Tīrthaṅkaras*, 12 Cakravartins, 9 Baladevas, 9 Vāsudevas and the 9 Prati-Vāsudevas (enemies of Vāsudevas). The perfect souls and also the souls striving towards perfection are called Great Souls (*Śalākāpuruṣas*) by the Jainas. The earliest lists occur in the following works : *Samavāyāṅga Sūtra* (Sūtra 132, 158, 207), *Kalpasūtra* (Sūtra 17) and *Paumacariya* (5.145-57).

(2) *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra* of Hemacandra (c. mid 12th century A. D.), Vol. I *Ādiśvaracaritra*, Ed. B. Bhattacharyya, Gaekwad's Oriental Series-No. L1, Baroda. 1931, pp. 161-378; *Mahāpurāṇa (Ādipurāṇa)* of Jinasena (c. ninth century A. D·), Vol. I, Pt. II, Ed. Pt. Pannalal Jain, Jñānapītha Mūrtidevī Jaina Granthamala, Sanskrit Grantha No. 9, Varanasi, 1951, pp. 222-513.

(3) kālākhyaśca Mahākālo Naissarpyaḥ pāṇḍukāhavyā /
Padmamāṇavapiṅgābja sarvaratnapadādikāḥ //
Nidhayo nava tasyāsanpratītairiti nāmabhiḥ /
Yairayaṁ gṛhavārtāyāṁ niścintobhūnnidhīśvaraḥ //
Mahāpurāṇa, vol. I, Pt. II, 37,73-74

(4) Ratnāni dvitayānyasya jīvājīvaibhāgataḥ /
kṣmātrāṇaiśvarya sambhogasādhanāni caturdaśa //

Cakrātapatradaṇḍāsimaṇayaścarma kākiṇī /
Camūgṛhapatībhāśvayoṣittakṣapurodhasaḥ //
Mahāpurāṇa, Vol. I, Pt. II, 37·83-84
Also see, *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra* 1·4·708-712.

(5) *Mahāpurāṇa*, Vol. I, Pt. II, 47. 396.

(6) The rendering of single parasol, instead of the triple parasol as usual with the Tīrthaṅkaras, reminds of the fact that Bharata is *kevalī* but not Jina.

(7) The two-armed woman sits in *lalitāsana* and holds the *abhaya-mudrā* and a water-vessel in her hands.

(8) The list of *aṣṭaprātihāryas* (eight chief attendant attributes) includes: Aśoka tree, flying *mālādharas*, *divya-dhvani* (divine music), flywhisk bearing attendant (*cāmara*), *siṁhāsana* (lion-throne), heavenly drum-beating (*Deva-dundubhi*), halo (*bhāmaṇḍala*) and *trichatra*; See, *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa* 3.31-38, *Pratiṣṭhāsārasaṁgraha* 5.82-83.

(9) The rendering of the *dharmacakra* in the centre of the pedestal, bearing further testimony to the influence of the Tīrthaṅkara images, is suggestive of the renunciation of Bharata and consequent attainment of omniscience.

(10) Instead of nine vases, suggestive of *nava-nīdhi*, only three vases are carved here. However, the figure of Kubera is also conspicuous by its absence.

(11) However, the *vajra* is not mentioned in the conventional list of the fourteen jewels.

(12) The pedestal contains a *dharmacakra* flanked by elephant and horse figures. Further up are carved the sword, *cakra* and *vajra*,

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JAINA SCULPTURES OF GAṆEŚA FROM WESTERN INDIA

Gaṇeśa or Gaṇapati, described as the remover of obstacles and bestower of *Siddhi*, is invoked at the beginning of every auspicious ceremony among both the Brāhmaṇas and the Jainas from the remote past. According to a Jaina work—the *Ācāradinakara*, Gaṇeśa is propitiated even by the gods for obtaining desirable things.[1] The rise of the Gāṇapatya sect of the Brāhmaṇas is traced to the Gupta period when the elephant-headed and pot-bellied divinity is depicted in art.[2]

The Jainas along with a number of other deities incorporated Gaṇeśa in their pantheon during the early mediaeval period. The iconographic features of Brahminic Gaṇeśa is retained by the Jainas in regard to the appellation, mount and other distinguishing emblems. The worship of Gaṇeśa among the Jainas began sometime in the 11th century A.D., evidenced by the sculptures, coming as they are from the Jaina *Devakulikās* at Osiāñ (Jodhpur, Rajasthan),datable to the11th century A. D. However, the earliest iconographic reference to Gaṇeśa is found in the *Abhīdhānacintāmaṇi* (of Hemacandra Sūri-12th century A. D.) but the details are enunciated in the *Ācāradinakara* only. It may be said here in passing that the worship of Gaṇeśa was more popular with the Śvetāmbaras, which is attested to by both the literature and art. So far only two sculptures of Gaṇeśa are known from the Digambara sites, they are carved in the Jaina caves at Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri hills (Puri, Orissa). These figures are in the Gaṇeśa and the Navamuni caves. The four-armed and elephant-headed figure of the Navamuni Cave (Khaṇḍagiri hill; c.11th century A. D.) shows Gaṇeśa with the *modaka-pātra*, a *paraśu*, an *akṣamālā* and a flower. His *mūṣaka vāhana* is carved below the seat.[3]

The *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, referring to the several names of Gaṇeśa, such as Heramba, Gaṇa-vighneśa, Vināyaka, visualizes the elephant-headed (with one tusk being broken) and pot-bellied Gaṇeśa as bearing a *paraśu* (an axe) and riding a mouse.[4] The *Ācāradinakara* conceives the elephant-headed (with one tusk) and pot-bellied Gaṇeśa as possessing 2, 4, 6, 18 or even 108 hands. However, the symbols of only four-armed variety have been described in the text.[5] Gaṇeśa rides a *mūṣaka* and shows the *varada-mudrā* and a *paraśu* in right hands while the left ones bear the *abhaya-mudrā* and the *modaka* (sweet-meat).

The Jaina sculptures of Gaṇeśa from Western India are known from the Śvetāmbara temples at Osiāñ, Nārlāi and Kumbhāriā. These sculptures are attributable to the 11th-12th century A. D. Barring figures from Osiāñ all other examples are datable to the 12th century A. D. The figures of Gaṇeśa are carved mainly on the door-ways and the *adhīṣṭhāna* of the temples.

At Osiāñ Gaṇeśa is represented by three sculptures. The elephant-headed and pot-bellied figures of Gaṇeśa are portrayed on the Jaina *Devakulikās*, belonging to the 11th century A.D. All the figures, possessing four arms, are seated in *lalitāsana*. Of the three, two figures are carved on the door-sills of the *Devakulikās* of the western pair, while the third one is on the southern *adhiṣṭhāna* of one of the eastern pair of *Devakulikās*. The door-sill figures with identical details render Gaṇeśa as bearing a *śūla* (spear), an *aṅkuśa* (goad), a *padma* and the *modaka-pātra* (a cup containing sweet-meats). The trunk in both the instances is turned towards the *modakapātra* in order to get the sweet-balls. In one instance, however, Gaṇeśa rides over an unconventional *vāhana* elephant. The third figure of the *adhiṣṭhāna*, depicts Gaṇeśa with slightly different attributes (Fig. 43). Here he holds an elephant-tusk (*svadanta*), an axe, and a flower in his surviving hands. The lower part of the trunk is also mutilated. Gaṇeśa, wearing a *nāga-yajñopavīta*, is joined by two devotees with folded hands.

Kumbhāriā (Banas Kantha, Gujarat) has yielded one sculpture, carved on the western *adhiṣṭhāna* of the Neminātha Temple (1148 A.D.). The four-armed figure of the elephant-headed and pot-bellied Gaṇeśa, seated as he is in the *lalita*-pose on *bhadrāsana*, is sheltered in a *rathikā* (Fig. 44). Gaṇeśa rides over a *mūṣaka* and carries an elephant-tusk, an axe, a lotus-bud and a pot (containing sweet-meats). The trunk, somewhat mutilated, is applied to the *modaka-pātra*. Gaṇeśa is embellished with the *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa, udara-bandha* and *nāga-yajñopavīta*.

Nārlāi (Pali, Rajasthan) has yielded two figures, assignable to the 12th century A.D. Both the figures represent elephant-headed Gaṇeśa as seated in *lalitāsana*.Of the two sculptures, one is incorporated in the entrance wall of the Neminātha Temple, while the other is lying uncared in the compound of the Supārśvanātha Temple. The first figure shows the four-armed deity as bearing *mudrā* (?),a *padma*,a *padma* and the *modaka-pātra*. His *mūṣaka* mount is shown on the left. The second figure renders Gaṇeśa as possessing two arms (Fig. 45). Surprisingly enough, Gaṇeśa here rides over a *meṣa* (ram) and holds a mace and a noose respectively in his right and left hands.

On the basis of the above sculptures, it is apparent that except for the rendering of an axe and the pot of *laḍḍukas* in hands and *mūṣaka* as *vāhana*, the artists have violated the iconographic prescriptions of the Jaina works.The rendering of the *padma, aṅkuśa* and *svadanta* is guided by the prescriptions of the Brāhminic works,[6] wherein four-armed Gaṇeśa is conceived as holding *svadanta*, an axe, a lotus and the *modaka* (or *modaka-pātra*). A few later works also prescribe such symbols as the *aṅkuśa, nāga* and *triśūla* with four-armed Gaṇeśa.[7]

Foot-notes

(1) ......sarvārādhanasamaye kāryārambheṣu maṅgalācare /
mukhye labhye lābhe devairapipūjyase deva //
Ācāradinakara : Gaṇapati Pratiṣṭhā : 3, p. 210.

(2) Puri, B. N., 'Gaṇeśa and Gaṇapati Cult in India', *Jour. Indian History*, Vol. XLVIII, Pt. II, Aug. 1970, pp. 405-413.

(3) The four-armed figure of Gaṇeśa *Gumphā* likewise shows a flower, a *paraśu* and the *modaka-pātra* in three hands. The symbol of the remaining one hand is, however, not discernible.

(4) Herambo gaṇavighneśaḥ parśupāṇirvināyakaḥ /
dvaimāturo gajāsyaikadantau lambodarākhugau//
Abhidhānacintāmaṇi : Devakāṇḍa Second,Verse : 207.

(5) Tatra Gaṇapatermūrtayaḥ prāsādasthāḥ pūjanīyāḥ dhāraṇīyāśca Vidyāgaṇeśāḥ dvibhujacaturbhujaṣaḍ-bhujanavabhujāṣṭādaśabhujāṣṭottaraśatbhujarūpāḥ...... jayajaya lambodara paraśuvaradayuktāpasavyahastayug/savyakaramodakābhayadharayāvakavarṇapītalasika//mūṣakavāhanapīvarajaṅghā-bhujavastilambigurujaṭhare/vāraṇamukhaikarada varada saumya jayadeva gaṇanātha//
Ācāradinakara : Gaṇapati Pratiṣṭhā : 1-2.

(6) *Aparājitapṛcchā* : 212.35-37; *Matsya Purāṇa* 260. 52-55; *Agni Purāṇa* 50. 23-26; *Rūpamaṇḍaṇa* 5.15. See, Awasthi, Ramashraya, *Khajurāho kī Deva Pratimāyen* (Hindi), Agra, 1967, p. 36.

(7) Banerjea, J. N., *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, Calcutta, 1956, p. 358.

SARASVATĪ IN JAINA SCULPTURES OF KHAJURĀHO

Sarasvatī, the ancient most goddess of learning and music, enjoyed unquestionable popularity and eminence among both the sects of the Jainas from ancient times. She was held in high veneration among the Brāhmaṇas and the Buddhists as well.[1] The earliest-known image of Sarasvatī,procured from the Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā,Mathura (now in the State Museum, Lucknow: J24; Kuṣāṇa period; 132 A. D.)[2], was prepared by the Jainas, which atonce suggests that the Jainas were the first to have felt the necessity of conceiving the visual form of Sarasvatī. The idea which might have given some impetus to conceive of the visual form of Sarasvatī was probably to show the symbolic representation of the preaching of the Tīrthaṅkaras in the form of a manuscript invariably held by her. It may be noted that as Śrutadevatā she presides over the preaching of the Tīrthaṅkaras.[3] Sarasvatī, endowed with several other appellations, such as Śrutadevatā, Śāradā, Bhāratī, Bhāṣa, Vāk, Vāk-devatā, Vāgīśvarī, Vāgvādinī, Vāṇī and Brāhmī, is worshipped in Jaina pantheon as the superintending deity of knowledge and learning.

Sarasvatī was fashioned in three varieties of form, namely, the two-armed, the four-armed and the multi-armed. In sculptures, as against the iconographic texts, sometimes she is also carved with six, eight and sixteen hands. The symbols invariably held by Sarasvatī are *vīṇā*, *pustaka* (manuscript), lotus, rosary and the *varada*-or-*abhaya-mudrā*, the former three being of more frequent occurrence. She rides a swan, occasionally replaced by a peacock. She mostly appears as seated on a lotus in *lalitāsana* but sometimes stands on a lotus.[4]

Sarasvatī was accorded a favoured position at Khajurāho. Besides the two images, carved on the *adhiṣṭhāna* of the *maṇḍapa* of the Pārśvanātha Temple (950—70 A. D.), she is always represented on the door-lintels. However, one small figure is noticed above the right shoulder of the figure of Lakṣmī,on the south facade of the Pārśvanātha Temple. Thus, in aggregate, Sarasvatī is represented by eight figures, including those carved on the door-lintels. Barring one instance, where Sarasvatī, against the iconographic prescriptions, possesses six arms, all other figures are four-armed and show almost identical symbols, though held in different order. It should be noted that none of the figures of Sarasvatī at Khajurāho fully corresponds with the available *dhyānas*, though the distinguishing symbols, like the manuscript, *vīṇā*, and lotus may be said to have been guided by the tradition. Excepting a solitary example, on the north *adhiṣṭhāna* of the Pārśvanātha Temple, nowhere her *vāhana*, swan, has been carved. Sarasvatī is represented as seated in *lalitāsana* in all the instances.

The four-armed image (31"×25"), harboured in the *rathikā* of the northern *adhiṣṭhāna* of the Pārśvanātha Temple, shows Sarasvatī with rolled up lotuses in the upper pair of arms.The lower arms are,however,damaged. Close to her leg on the left is depicted her *vāhana*, *haṁsa*. On two sides there appear three devotees with folded hands. Above the head are depicted three small Jina. figures, flanked by standing female figures with folded hands. Another four-armed figure carved on the doorway of the sanctum of the Pārśvanātha Temple, represents Sarasvatī with a spiral lotus and a manuscript respectively in her right and left upper hands; while the lower ones are engaged in playing *vīṇā*. Still another small figure of Sarasvatī, evincing same set of symbols, is sculptured on the door-lintel of the backshrine (on west) of the Pārśvanātha Temple. Two other figures with similar features, as above, are carved on the door-lintels, one of which is incorporated, in modern time, in the north *jagati* of the Pārśvanātha Temple and the other is reutilized in the Modern Temple No. 11. These door-lintels are datable to the 11th century A.D. One other figure is carved on the door-lintel of the back shrine (on west) of the Pārśvanātha Temple. Here Sarasvatī bears a lotus and a manuscript in upper right and left arms, while the lower ones show the *varada-mudrā* and a *kamaṇḍalu*. Still another figure is carved with Lakṣmī on the south facade of the *maṇḍapa* of the Pārśvanātha Temple. Sarasvatī here holds a lotus and a manuscript in her upper right and left hands, while the lower ones show the *abhaya-mudrā* and a *mātuliṅga*.

The six-armed figure of Sarasvatī (31"×25") is sheltered in a *rathikā* of the south *adhiṣṭhāna* of the Pārśvanātha Temple. The goddess sits on *bhadrāsana* and bears a half-opened lotus and a manuscript respectively in her right and left upper hands; whereas middle pair of hands is engaged in playing *vīṇā*. The lower right and left hands show respectively the *varada-mudrā* and a *kamaṇḍalu*. The *vāhana*; *haṁsa*, is conspicuous by its absence. On either flank of Sarasvatī there stands, in *tribhaṅga*; an attendant carrying a flywhisk in the inner hand. Close to the feet of the goddess sit three adorers with folded hands. Above her head, on either flank, there appears a small Jina figure with a couple of flying figures. Below these figures there appear two hovering figures.

Foot-notes

(1) Consult, Tiwari; Maruti Nandan Prasad, 'Saraswati in Indian Iconography', *Bhavans Journal*, Vol. *XIX*; No. 1; Annual Number, Aug. 6; 1972; pp. 150-59.

(2) Bajpai; K. D., 'Jain Image of Saraswatī in the Lucknow Museum'; *Jaina Antiquary*, Vol. XI, No. II, Jan. 1946, pp. 1—4.

(3) Consult, Jain, Jyoti Prasad, 'Genesis of Jaina Literature and the Sarasvatī Movement, *Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology in U. P.* (Lucknow), No. 9. June 1972, pp 30-33.

(4) For details consult, Shah, U. P., 'Iconography of the Jain Goddess Sarasvatī' *Jour. University of Bombay*, Vol. X. (New Series), Pt. 1-2, September 1941, pp. 195-217.

IMAGE OF RĀMA AND SĪTĀ ON THE PĀRŚVANĀTHA TEMPLE, KHAJURĀHO

An exquisitely carved image of Rāma and Sītā (2 ft. 10 in. high) on the northern facade of the *maṇḍapa* of the Pārśvanātha Temple will be discussed here. The figures of Rāma and Sītā, carved in the lower relief, represent them as standing on a bracket in *tribhaṅga* (Fig.46).Rāma is depicted as possessing four arms. A long arrow is held diagonally downwards with its rear in his upper right arm and the head in the lower left. Klaus Bruhn mistaking the arrow for a *sakti* has wrongly identified the image with Kumāra[1]. It seems that he has somehow overlooked the short-statured figure of monkey-faced Hanumāna, a staunch devotee of Rāma, on the right. The lower right arm of Rāma is placed over the head of Hanumāna in *pālita-mudrā* with four of its fingers folded. His upper left arm is engaged in embracing (*āliṅgana-mudrā*) Sītā, standing to left. Rāma is provided with quiver (*tūṇīra*) on his right shoulder. Rāma is decked with *kirīṭa-mukuṭa*, ear-pendants, two necklaces, *chhannavīra*, armlets, beaded bracelets, girdle consisting of an ornate belt with a central clasp worn on the waist, a long hanging garland reaching up to the knees, and a short *dhotī* extending up to a little above the knees.

The two-armed Sītā bears a rolled lotus (*nīlotpala*) in her left arm while her right arm is placed on the right shoulder of Rāma in *āliṅgana-mudrā*. Sītā wearing an ornamented coiffure and a *sārī*, extending up to a little above the ankles, is bejewelled in ear-rings,two necklaces, one consisting of square pendants held together by a beaded string and the other consisting of two rows of beaded strings, a single beaded string, dangling downwards between the breasts, and a girdle of similar elaboration. The left arm of the two-armed Hanumāna is raised to touch the fingers of Rāma while his right arm is folded. He wears a simple head gear, necklace, bracelets and a *kaupīna*. The image is perfect in modelling and execution with every detail carved elaborately.

It is well-known that the story of Rāma was popular with the Jainas also. This is evidenced by a number of Jaina works which treat of the Rāma story, in detail, from the early centuries down to the 17th century AD. Some of them are as follows: the *Paumacariyam* of Vimalasūri (close of the 3rd century AD), *Vasudevahiṇḍī* of Saṅghadāsa (not later than 609 A. D.), *Padmapurāṇa* of Raviṣeṇa (678 A. D), *Uttarapurāṇa* of Guṇabhadra (9th century A. D.), *Mahāpurāṇa* of Puṣpadanta (965 A.D.), *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra* of Hemacandra (12th century A. D.).[2] From the study of the Jaina works dealing with the Rāma story,it is obvious that excepting the number of queens of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, the killing of Rāvaṇa by Lakṣmaṇa and the Jinistic conclusion, the Jaina version of Rāma story is basically the same as found in the Brahminic works by Vālmikī and others.

The Pārśvanātha Temple also shelters a frieze showing scene from *Rāmakathā*. It is depicted on the southern facade, near the *Śikhara*. In the scene Sītā, after having been abducted by Rāvaṇa, has been portrayed as sitting under the shade of a tree at Aśoka *vāṭikā* in Laṅkā. The monkey-faced Hanumāna surrounded by demons with swords, is also shown, imparting the message of Rāma and his ring to Sītā. The depiction again rests on the strength of the Jaina works, like *Paumacariyam*[3] and *Uttarapurāṇa*.

Foot-notes

(1) Bruhn, Klaus, 'The Figure of the two Lower Reliefs on the Pārśvanātha Temple at Khajurāho', *Acarya Srī Vijayavallabhasūri Commemoration Volume*, 1956, Eng. Sect., p. 18, x 5a.

(2) Consult, Ācārya Vimalasūri's *Paumacariyam*, Pt. I, Ed. H. Jacobi, Prakrit Text Society Series No. 6, Varanasi, 1962, Introduction, pp. 1-3.

(3) *Ibid.*, 53. 11.

JAINA SCULPTURES AT KUMBHĀRIĀ

Kumbhāriā (Banas Kantha,Gujarat), a prolific Śvetāmbara Jaina site,has yielded an immense amount of iconic data. The site has undoubtedly been one of the richest centres of Jaina religious art in India. Kumbhāriā is well known for magnificent Śvetāmbara Jaina temples,numbering five and ranging in date between 11th and 13th century. A.D. The temples, lying within a long boundary wall, are dedicated to Śāntinātha, Neminātha, Pārśvanātha, Mahāvīra and Sambhavanātha.

The Śāntinātha temple, constructed in the latter half of the 11th century A.D., preserves an inscription of *Saṁvat* 1110 (1054 A.D.)inscribed on the throne of a Jina image, installed in the Cell No. 9.[1] On the exteriors of the *mūlaprāsāda*, there are three Jina figures, each seated on a simple pedestal without the usual cortége of symbols. Near the *śikhara* on two sides, are carved the figures of Cakreśvarī and Ambikā (2-armed,and surprisingly bearing a sword with an *āmralumbi* in right hand and a child in the left) *Yakṣīs*.[2] The door-way of the gūḍhamaṇḍapa is adorned with the figures of Mahāmānasī, Mahākālī, Acchuptā, Vairoṭyā, Nirvāṇī, Sarasvatī, Vajraśṛṅkhalā and Puruṣadattā.The pillars of the *trikamaṇḍapa* and the *raṅgamaṇḍapa* are decorated with the figures of Rohiṇī, Vajraśṛṅkhalā, Cakreśvarī, Sarasvatī, Vairoṭyā, Acchuptā,Mānasī (with thunderbolts in two upper hands),and unidentified goddess (with a trident and a snake in two upper hands and the *varada-mudrā* and a fruit in the lower ones). The form of the last goddess appears to have been influenced by Brāhminic Śivā. The door-sill of the *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* contains the figures of four-armed Sarvānubhūti and two-armed Ambikā. The first ceiling of the *trikamaṇḍapa* shows in its four corners, the figures of Brahmaśānti, *Kṣetrapāla*, Agni (*Dikpāla*) and Sarvānubhūti. The adjoining ceiling of the *trikamaṇḍapa* exhibits the figures of four most favoured Jaina goddesses, namely, Cakreśvarī, Sarasvatī Rohiṇī and Vairoṭyā riding respectively on *garuḍa*, swan, cow and snake. On two sides of the staircases there are also depicted figures of Brahmaśānti (bearded, bearing *padma* and *chatra padma* in two upper hands with elephant as mount) and Sarvānubhūti (carrying a fruit, a goad, a noose and a fruit in hands and riding an elephant) *Yakṣas*.

The sixteen cells, carved all along the corridor on three sides, contain the seated Jina figures, each with a goddess (either carrying lotuses or lotus and *pustaka* in two upper hands) in the middle of the throne, and Sarvānubhūti *Yakṣa* (with a goad, a noose, some *mudrā*, and a purse in hands and elephant as *vāhana*) and Ambikā *Yakṣī* (2-armed and 4-armed; invariably evincing *āmralumbi* and child, seated in lap, in two hands-with lion as mount), in two recessed corners of the throne. The Jina figures are flanked either by two standing *cāmaradharas* or by two standing Jinas, the latter generally being shaded by snake canopy. The figures of the *mūlanāyakas* are lost in all the cases. Two Jina figures, installed respectively in the Cell Nos. 1 and 7, are identified with Śāntinātha on the strength of the pedestal inscriptions . In the sanctum is installed a small image of Śāntinātha. In a small cell on east-south corner is carved a huge *Samavasaraṇa* (congregation hall where every Jina delivers his first discourse after obtaining omniscience) of some Jina with three successive fortification walls and the figures of *dvārapālas*, animals and human beings. The *Samavasaraṇa* is inscribed in *Saṁvat* 1266 (1210 A. D.).

The most important of all the representations are the bay-ceilings, attached to the *raṅgamaṇḍapa* on east and west, which contain, besides other significant figures, the representations of the events in the lives of different Jinas. These ceilings represent the *pañca-kalyāṇakas* (*chyavana*, *dīkṣā*, *jñāna*, *nirvāṇa*) from the lives of Ṛṣabhanātha (together with the scene of fight between Bharata and Bāhubalī,and also the figures of his Gomukha *Yakṣa* and Cakreśvarī *Yakṣī*), Neminātha (with *Yakṣī* Ambikā, Fig. 16),Mahāvīra (with the figures of his *Yakṣa* and *Yakṣī*),and Śāntinātha (with a scene from his previous life as king Meghamālin when he offered his flesh to save the life of a pigeon) on west; and Pārśvanātha (In the middle are shown, in two rows, twenty-four pairs of seated male and female, the latter supporting a child, seated in lap. These pairs undoubtedly represent the respective parents of the twenty-four Jinas) on east, Another ceiling on the east shows, in the middle, a seated figure of Supārśvanātha with five-hooded snake canopy overhead and the figures of Sixteen *Mahāvidyās* all around. (Fig. 42).

The second temple, dedicated to Mahāvīra, is also a late 11th century A.D. construction[3]. It also contains the 16 *devakulikās* on three sides of the corridor. The Jina images(with the figures of the *mūlanāyaka*s now lost in all the cases and the inscriptions on the pedestals ranging in date between A. D. 1083 and 1129) installed in the cells show similar details as noticed in case of the Śāntinātha Temple. Here *Yakṣī* Ambikā is sometimes represented as carrying a fruit in place of an *āmra-lumbi*.It may be noted here that with Pārśvanātha and Supārśvanātha also the *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* figures are those of Sarvānubhūti and Ambikā, in place of the traditional ones. A stone plaque, lying near the western access to the shrine,shows the respective mothers of the twenty-four Jinas. Each seated female figure supports a child with her left hand and bears a fruit in the right. Another similar representation of late 12th century A.D. is lying near the entrance to the temple on north. It is important to note that the name of the respective mothers of all the Jinas are also inscribed here. The Mahāvīra image installed in the sanctum has only lateral jambs in original, and the figure of the *mūlanāyaka* and the throne are of subsequent date.

The figures carved in the aisle-ceiling on east represent Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī, Sarvānubhūti, Ambikā and Vajrāṅkuśā. The entrance-door of the *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* contains the figures of the same goddesses as noticed in case of the Śāntinātha

Temple. The two niches of the *trikamaṇḍapa* harbour thrones of the Jina images with *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* figures. Of the two, one bears an inscription in Saṁvat 1148 (A.D. 1092). The figures of the *mūlanāyakas* are lost in both the cases.

An important representation, carved on a plaque and incised in V.S. 1338 (A.D. 1282), lies near the entrance on north. It refers to the story of *Śakunikāvihāra*, an incident from the life of Jina Munisuvrata. However, the story of the *Aśvāvabodha* in the life of the same Jina, everywhere else represented together with the story of the *Śakunikāvihāra*, is carved in the present instance on the south wall of the *mūlaprāsāda* of the Neminātha Temple. However, the other replicas of two such representations come from the Lūṇa Vasahī (Cell No. 19) at Mt. Ābū and the Pārśvanātha Temple at Jalor. The other significant representations at the site include a big *Samavasaraṇa* carved in a small shrine on east, and a beautiful *toraṇa* (V.S. 1223-A.D. 1167). The *toraṇa* is embellished with the small figures of the goddesses.

The rendering of the five chief auspicious events in the lives of the Jinas,namely, Ṛṣabhanātha (with the figures of Brahmaśānti Yakṣa-bearded and holding the *varada*, a lotus, a manuscript, and a water-pot with swan as vehicle; Ambikā, Gomukha,Sarasvatī Vairoṭyā,Lakṣmī,and Cakreśvarī-labelled as Vaiṣṇavī Devī and carrying a mace and a lotus in two upper hands and a conch in the lower left), Mahāvīra (with the scenes of *upasargas* caused by demons during the course of his *tapas* and meditation), Neminātha (with two-armed Ambikā carved above the *Samavasaraṇa*) Śāntinātha and Pārśvanātha (with the scene of *upasargas* caused by Kamaṭha and also the figures of Dharaṇendra and Padmāvatī) are carved in the *bhramikā* ceilings on west (Figs. 6, 11, 21). There also occurs the representation of the respective parents of all the 24 Jinas with their names in one of the ceilings. The present representation is identical with the instance noticed in the Śāntinātha Temple.

The third temple, of Pārśvanātha, was coustructed in the 11th-12th century A.D.[4] A beautiful *toraṇa*, lying near the entrance to the shrine on west,is embellished with the figures of the Jaina goddesses, among which rendering of some (one with lotus and trident in the upper hands, and the other with trident and snake in two upper hands and bull as *vāhana*) are not guided by any of the available iconographic injunctions. The goddesses may, however, be Jaina adoptions of Brāhminic Śivā. The two ornamental niches of the *trikamaṇḍapa* harboured two Jina figures, now lost. The throne of the left-hand Jina figure is inscribed in V. S. 1216 (1160 A. D.). The *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* figures in both the cases are Sarvānubhūti and Ambikā. Among the goddesses, carved on the pillars of the *raṅgamaṇḍapa* and the *maṇḍapa*,mention may be made particularly of Sarvāstra Mahājvālā (with *jvālā-pātra* in two upperhands) and two unidentified goddesses (one with noose and goad; and the other with *śūla* and goad in two upper hands). On the facade of the *mūlaprāsāda* are portrayed the figures of Cakreśvarī (bearing the *varada*, a mace, a disc, a conch with *garuḍa* as *vāhana*), an unidentified goddess (carrying the *varada*, a trident, a snake, a fruit with bull as mount) and Sarasvatī (showing the *varada*, a *sruk*, a manuscript, a fruit with swan as conveyance).

The colossal images of Ajitanātha (with elephant cognizance) and Śāntinātha, both bearing inscriptions dated in V.S. 1176 (=1120 A.D.) and standing in *kāyotsarga-mudrā*, are installed in the *gūḍhamaṇḍapa*. On the lateral jambs of both the Jina images are carved miniature figures of the goddesses. Another huge image of Pārśvanātha with seven-hooded cobra forming a canopy overhead is also enshrined in the *gūḍhamaṇḍapa*. The figure of the *mūlanāyaka* is new, nevertheless the throne and the *parikara* are old. It is surprising to note that the Sarvānubhūtī *Yakṣa* and Ambikā *Yakṣī* have also been provided with a snake canopy for associating them with Pārśvanātha. The *mūlanāyaka* in the Jina image,installed in the sanctum, is new.

There are 24 cells, including a niche, on three sides of the *bhramikā*. Each cell contained a Jina figure, exhibiting identical details as noticed earlier. Some of the cells are, however, empty now. The earliest inscription of V.S. 1104 (1048 A.D.) was noticed by the author on the throne of a Jina image, installed in a niche on the east. Other inscriptions on the thrones of the Jina figures range in date between V.S. 1236 and 1259 (1180-1203 A.D.). The Cell Nos. 5 and 20, dedicated respectively to Sumatinātha (1203 A.D.) and Suvratasvāmī (1180) show, on beautifully carved entrance-doors, pillars and the ceilings, the figures of several goddesses. On the facade of these cells are carved the figures of Varuṇa, Nirṛti, Indra and Īśāna *Dikpālas* and Cakreśvarī and Vajrāṅkuśā Mahāvidyās.

The fourth temple of Neminātha, assigned to the 12th century A. D., is the largest of all the Jaina temples at Kumbhāriā[5]. The outer walls of the *mūlaprāsāda* contain niched figures of the four-armed standing *Dikpālas* and goddesses. The goddesses represented on the facade may be identified with Vairoṭyā (snake *vāhana*), Acchuptā (horse *vāhana*), Vajraśṛṅkhalā (a long chain in two upper hands with *padmāsana*), Cakreśvarī (*garuḍa* mount), Mānavī (12th Vidyādevī-showing leaves of some tree in two upper hands),Sarvāstra Mahājvālā (with *jvālā-pātra* and *sruk* in two upper hands, *jaṭā-mukuṭa*, lion mount), Sarasvatī (carrying *sruk* and manuscript in two upper hands, *jaṭā-mukuṭa*), Vajrāṅkuśā (elephant *vāhana*), Puruṣadattā (with shield and sword in two hands and buffalo as vehicle), Kālī (*varada*, mace, long-stalked lotus in three hands with *kamalāsana*),Mahākālī (with thunderbolt and *ghaṇṭa* in two upper hands and male as *vāhana*), Gaurī (long-stalked lotuses in two upper hands, and probably an alligator as *vāhana*), Puruṣadattā (? thunderbolt and stick in two upper hands, and buffalo or ram as *vāhana*), and a goddess with noose in two upper hands.

The principal niches on three sides of the facade were provided with the Jina images, of which only throne and *parikara* are exatnt now. The niched figures of the *adhiṣṭhāna*, representing four-armed seated divinities, include Lakṣmī (5 figures), Vajraśṛṅkhalā (2 figs.), a goddess (?) with goad and noose in two upper hands, Sarasvatī (2 figs.), Rohiṇī, a goddess (?) wearing *jaṭāmukuṭa* with trident and snake in two upper hands, Cakreśvarī (4 figs., sometimes wearing *kirīṭa-mukuṭa*), a goddess (?) with long purse in two upper hands, Gaṇeśa (solitary instance at Kumbhāriā, 4-armed, elephant-headed, pot-bellied and riding a *mūṣaka*), Vajrāṅkuśā (2 figs.) and a goddess (?) with *varada*, a long-stalked lotus and a noose in three surviving hands. It may be noted here that an erotic sculpture is also carved in the panel on north *adhiṣṭhāna*. The scene shows a female with two males engaged in the act of sexual intercourse.

In the *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* on west is installed a stone plaque, inscribed in *saṁvat* 1310 (=1254 A.D.) and representing 172 seated Jinas which numerically include the Jinas of the past and future ages together with the present age, *avasarpiṇī*. Two other images of 1158 A.D. representing respectively Pārśvanātha and Supārśvanātha are preserved in the *gūḍhamaṇḍapa*. Both the Jinas are accompanied by Sarvānubhūti *Yakṣa* and Ambikā *Yakṣī*. The other two images of Ṛṣabhanātha, inscribed in *Saṁvat* 1314 (=1258 A.D.) and installed in the *gūḍhamaṇḍapa*, show Sarvānubhūti as *Yakṣa* and Cakreśvarī as *Yakṣī*. The colossal image of Neminātha enshrined in the sanctum appears to be of later date.

The door-way and the pillars of the *raṅgamaṇḍapa* and the *trikamaṇḍapa* are decorated with the figures of Jaina goddesses. On east wall of the *maṇḍapa*, above the niche, is carved the figure of four-armed Gajalakṣmī or Mahalakṣmī, sitting cross-legged on *padmāsana* with a row of nine vases (*nava-nidhis*) carved below and two elephants lustrating her at the top. In one of the niches of the *trikamaṇḍapa* is sheltered a plaque, inscribed in *Saṁvat* 1322 (= 1266 A.D.) and representing the Nandīśvara dvīpa. The four groups of Jina figures with 13 Jinas in each are carved on the four sides of central concentric band. However, two other representations of the Nandīśvara dvīpa were noticed by the author at Sādri and Raṇakpur temples in Rajasthan.

A few figures of Jaina deities are also carved on the east and west exterior walls of the *Devakulikās*. The figures on the eastern wall comprise Lakṣmī, Indra, Vajraśṛṅkhalā; and those on the west include *Dikpāla* Varuṇa, Mahākālī, Padmāvatī (carrying a lotus-bud, a noose, a goad, and a fruit, and riding a *kukkuṭa-sarpa*), Kālī, *Dikpāla* Nirṛti, Padmāvatī (with *varadākṣa*, a goad, a noose, and a fruit in four hands. She rides a *kukkuṭa-sarpa*. She has been provided with five-hooded cobra overhead), Sarasvatī (showing *varadākṣa*, a spiral lotus, a *vīṇā*, a manuscript and riding a peacock), Sāntidevī (25 figs.), and a goddess (with *varada*, a goad, a noose, and a fruit; and *vāhana* elephant. She is perhaps Vajrāṅkuśā).

The fifth temple, dedicated to Sambhavanātha, is of 13th century A. D. The figures on the facades—starting from east—show Vajrāṅkuśā (2 figs.), Mahākālī, Rohiṇī, Cakreśvarī, an unidentified goddess (may be Gāndhārī carrying *varada*, a mace, a thunderbolt, and a fruit) and Sarasvatī. The niched figures of the goddesses carved on the basement of the temple show, from east to west, Vajrāṅkuśā, Sarvāstra-Mahājvālā (bearing *jvālā-pātra* in two upper hands with *meṣa* as *vāhana*), Cakreśvarī (*kirīṭamukuṭa*) and a goddess (seemingly female counterpart of Sarvānubhūti *Yakṣa*-holding *varada*, a purse, and a goad in three surviving hands). Two 15th century figures of Pārśvanātha with seven-headed cobra overhead are installed in the *gūḍhamaṇḍapa*. The Jina figure in the sanctum is of subsequent date.

We would like to make certain observations at this point. The representation of all the *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* figures either independently or with their respective Jinas was, however, not popular at Kumbhāriā. Barring a few instances of Ṛṣabhanātha and Pārśvanātha images, accompanied by the traditional *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* figures, all other Jinas are accompanied by Sarvānubhūti *Yakṣa* and Ambikā *Yakṣī*, who undoubtedly enjoyed the highest position in the group of the 24-*Yakṣa-Yakṣī* pairs at the site. The popularity of the afore-said *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* pair is further evidenced by their frequent occurrence on the door-sills, pillars, ceilings and the walls of all the temples. However, this has not been the case with the Jina images of Central India, especially from Madhya Pradesh and Uttara Pradesh. It is also surprising that the artists have generally omitted the representation of the respective cognizances of the Jinas and, instead, preferred to mention the names of the Jinas in the throne inscriptions. The representations of the two elephants, a four-armed goddess (Śāntidevī-carrying either lotuses or lotus and manuscript in two upper hands) and two deer, flanking and facing the *dharmacakra*, on the throne of the Jina images are also confined to the Jina images from Western India. Besides Sarvānubhūti and Ambikā, we come across a few sculptures of Gomukha, Brahmaśānti and Dharaṇendra *Yakṣas*; and Cakreśvarī, Nirvāṇī and Padmāvatī *Yakṣīs* at the site. However, the Sixteen *Mahāvidyāṣ* enjoyed the most favoured position at Kumbhāriā. Of the Sixteen, Rohiṇī, Cakreśvarī, Vajrāṅkuśā, Vajraśṛṅkhalā, Mahākālī, Acchuptā, Vairoṭyā, Mahāmānasi and Sarvāstra Mahājvālā were the most favoured ones. Besides, Śāntidevī, Sarasvatī, Mahālakṣmī and an unidentified goddess with a trident and a snake (perhaps Śivā), represented by a large number of figures, also occupy significant positions. Besides the goddesses, the *Aṣṭa-dikpālas*, Gaṇeśa, mothers and the parents of the twenty-four Jinas were also given due importance at the site. The representation of narratives from the lives of the different Jinas at Kumbhāriā, occurring also at other Śvetāmbara places in Western India, but rarely met with at the Digambara site, is of special significance. It is interesting to note that the details in these narrarives fully correspond with the details found in different Śvetāmbara works. Regarding the iconography of different deities at the site, other than those claiming artists' innovations, it may be said that the *vāhanas* and the distinguishing symbols, peculiar to a particular deity, are shown in conformity with the Śvetāmbara *dhyānas*.

Foot-notes

(1) According to Kantilal F. Sompura, "the earliest four inscriptions on the pedestals of the images are dated V. S. 1133 (1077 A. D.) This can sefely be regarded as the date of the temple." See, *The Structural Temples of Gujarat*, Ahmedabad, 1968, p. 129. However, the present author has noticed even an earlier inscription in *Saṁvat* 1110 (1054 A. D.) in the Cell No. 9.

(2) The present image evincing a departure from the known instances of Ambikā seems to have been guided by an early text on Jaina iconography, the *Caturviṁśatikā*, (of Bappabhaṭṭisūri). In the text, the two-armed Ambikā is conceived as riding a lion and bearing a sword and a child in two hands. See, *Caturviṁśatikā* 96·24.

(3) The temple is securely dated by an inscription on the pedestal belonging to the original principal image in the sanctum, which refers to the rendering of the image of '*Tīrthādhipa*' at Arasṇā in V. S. 1118 (A. D. 1062). See, Sompura, Kantilal F., *op. cit.*, p. 127.

(4) The earliest inscription on the pedestal of one of the images in the Pārśvanātha Temple at Kumbhāria is dated in the year V. S. 1161 (1105 A. D.). See, Sompura, Kantilal F., *op. cit.*, p. 139.

(5) The earliest inscription on the pedestal of one of the images of this temple is dated V. S. 1191 (1135 A.D.). But it seems that the temple was erected during the reign of Kumārapāla, as indicated by the inscription dated V. S. 1204 (1148 A. D.), found in its compound. See. Sompura, Kantilal F., *op. cit.*, p. 159 and foot-note No. 179/2.

APPENDIX

TABLE 1

JINA ICONOGRAPHY

No.	Jina	Cognizance	Yakṣa	Yakṣī
1.	Ṛṣabhanātha (or Ādinātha).	Bull	Gomukha	Cakreśvarī (S.D.)[1], Apraticakrā (S)
2.	Ajitanātha	Elephant	Mahāyakṣa	Ajitā (S), Rohiṇī (D)
3.	Sambhavanātha	Horse	Trimukha	Duritārī (S), Prajñapti (D)
4.	Abhinandana	Kapi	Yakṣeśvara (S.D),Īśvara (S)	Kālikā (S), Vajraśṛṅkhalā (D)
5.	Sumatinātha	Krauñca	Tumbaru (S.D.), Tumbara (D)	Mahākālī (S),Puruṣadattā, Naradattā (D),Sammohinī (S)
6.	Padmaprabha	Padma	Kusuma (S), Puṣpa (D)	Acyutā, Mānasī (S), Manovegā (D)
7.	Supārśvanātha	Svastika (S.D.), Nandyāvarta (D)	Mātaṅga	Śāntā (S), Kālī (D)
8.	Candraprabha	Śaśi	Vijaya (S), Śyāmā (D)	Bhṛkuṭi, Jvālā (S), Jvalāmālinī, Jvālinī (D)
9.	Suvidhinātha (S), Puṣpadanta (S.D.)	Makara	Ajita (S.D.), Jaya (D)	Sutārā (S), Mahākālī (D)

Foot-note

(1) S=Śvetāmbara, D=Digambara

No.	Jina	Cognizance	Yakṣa	Yakṣī
10.	Śītalanātha	Śrīvatsa (S.D.) Svastika (D)	Brahma	Aśokā (S), Mānavī (D)
11.	Śreyāṁśanātha	Khaḍgī (Rhinoceros)	Īśvara (S. D.), Yakṣarāja, Manuja (S)	Mānavī, Śrīvatsā (S), Gaurī (D)
12.	Vāsupūjya	Mahiṣa	Kumāra	Caṇḍā, Pracaṇḍā, Ajitā, Candrā (S), Gāndhārī (D)
13.	Vimalanātha	Varāha	Saṇmukha (S. D.), Caturmukha (D)	Viditā (S), Vairoṭī (D)
14.	Anantanātha	Śyena Pakṣī-Falcon (S), Bear (D)	Pātāla	Aṅkuśā (S), Anantamatī (D)
15.	Dharmanātha	Vajra	Kinnara	Kandarpā, Pannagā (S), Mānasī(D)
16.	Śāntinātha	Mṛga	Garuḍa	Nirvāṇī (S), Mahāmānasī (D)
17.	Kunthunātha	Chāga (Goat)	Gandharva	Balā, Acyutā, Gāndhāriṇī (S), Jayā (D)
18.	Aranātha	Nandyāvarta (S), Fish (D)	Yakṣendra, Yakṣeśvara (S), Khendra (D)	Dhāriṇī (S), Tārāvatī (D)
19.	Mallinātha	Kalaśa	Kubera	Vairoṭyā, Dharaṇapriyā (S), Aparājitā (D)
20.	Munisuvrata	Kūrma	Varuṇa	Naradattā, Varadattā (S), Bahurūpiṇī (D)

No.	Jina	Cognizance	Yakṣa	Yakṣī
21.	Naminātha	Blue Lotus	Bhṛkuṭi	Gāndhārī (S), Cāmuṇḍā (D)
22.	Neminātha (or Ariṣṭanemi)	Śaṅkha	Gomedha	Ambikā (S.D.), Kuṣmāṇḍī (S), Kuṣmāṇḍinī (D)
23.	Pārśvanātha	Snake	Pārśva, Vāmana (S), Dharaṇa (D)	Padmāvatī
24.	Mahāvīra (or Vardhamāna)	Lion	Mātaṅga	Siddhāyikā (S.D.), Siddhāyinī (D).

TABLE II—YAKṢA—YAKṢĪ ICONOGRAPHY

(A) 24-YAKṢA

No.	Yakṣa	Vāhana	No. of arms	Āyudha	Other Symbols
1.	Gomukha—(i) S—	Gaja or Vṛṣabha	4	Varada-mudrā, Akṣamālā, Mātuliṅga, Pāśa	Bull-faced and joined by elephant and bull
	(ii) D—	Vṛṣabha	4	Paraśu, Fruit, Akṣamālā, Varada-mudrā	Marked with dharmacakra on head.
2.	Mahāyakṣa—(i) S—	Gaja	8	Varada-mudrā, Mudgara, Akṣamālā, Pāśa (Right), Mātuliṅga, Abhaya-mudrā, Aṅkuśa, Śakti (Left).	Four-faced
	(ii) D—	Gaja	8	Khaḍga (Nistriṅśa). Daṇḍa, Paraśu, Varada-mudrā (R), Cakra, Triśūla, Padma, Aṅkuśa (L)	Four-faced
3.	Trimukha (i) S—	Mayūra (or Snake)	6	Nakula, Gadā, Abhaya-mudrā (R); Fruit, Snake, Rosary (L)	Three-faced, Three or Nine-eyed.
	(ii) D—	Mayūra	6	Daṇḍa, Triśūla, Kaṭāra (R); Cakra, Khaḍga, Aṅkuśa (L)	Three-faced, three eyed
4,	(i) Īśvara—S—	Gaja	4	Fruit, Akṣamālā, Nakula, Aṅkuśa	
	(ii) Yakṣeśvara—D—	Gaja (or Haṁsa)	4	Saṅkapatra (or Arrow), Khaḍga, Kārmuka, Kheṭaka, Sarpa, Pāśa, Vajra, Aṅkuśa (*Aparājitapṛcchā*)	Four-faced

1	2	3	4	5	6
5.	Tumbaru—(i) S—	Garuḍa	4	Varada-mudrā, Śakti, Nāga (or Gadā), Pāśa	
	(ii) D –	Garuḍa	4	Sarpa, Sarpa, Varada-mudrā, Fruit	Nāga-Yajñopavīta
6.	Kusuma or Puṣpa—(i) S—	Mṛga (or Mayūra or Aśva)	4	Fruit, Abhaya-mudrā, Nakula, Akṣamālā	
	(ii) D—	Mṛga	2 or 4	(i) Gadā, Akṣamālā (ii) Śūla, Mudrā, Kheṭaka, Abhaya-mudrā (or Kheṭaka)	
7.	Mātaṅga (i) S—	Gaja	4	Bilvaphala, Pāśa (or Nāgapāśa), Nakula (or Vajra), Aṅkuśa	
	(ii) D—	Siṁha (or Meṣa)	2	Vajra (or Śūla), Daṇḍa, Gadā, Pāśa (*Aparājitapṛcchā*)	
8.	(i) Vijaya—S—	Haṁsa	2	Cakra (or Khaḍga), Mudgara	Three-eyed
	(ii) Śyāma—D—	Kapota	4	Fruit, Akṣamālā, Paraśu, Varada-mudrā	Three-eyed
9.	Ajita—(i) S—	Kūrma	4	Mātuliṅga, Akṣasūtra (or Abhaya-mudrā), Nakula, Śūla (or Atula Ratnarāśi)	
	(ii) D—	Kūrma	4	Fruit, Akṣaūtra, Śakti, Varada-mudrā	

1	2	3	4	5	6
10.	**Brahma—(i) S—**	**Padma**	8 or 10	Mātuliṅga, Mudgara, Pāśa, Abhaya-mudrā or Varada-mudrā (R); Nakula, Gadā, Aṅkuśa, Akṣasūtra (L); Mātuliṅga, Mudgara, Pāśa, Abhaya-mudrā, Nakula, Gadā, Aṅkuśa, Akṣasūtra, Pāśa, Padma (*Ācāradinakara*).	Three-eyed, four-faced.
	(ii) D—	**Saroja**	8	Bāṇa, Khaḍga, Varada-mudrā, Dhanuṣa, Daṇḍa, Kheṭaka, Paraśu, Vajra	Four-faced
11.	**Īśvara— (i) S—**	**Vṛṣabha**	4	Mātuliṅga, Gadā, Nakula, Akṣasūtra	Three-eyed
	(ii) D—	**Vṛṣabha**	4	Fruit, Akṣasūtra, Triśūla, Daṇḍa (or Varada-mudrā)	Three-eyed
12.	**Kumāra--(i) S—**	**Haṁsa**	4	Bījapūraka, Bāṇa (or Vīṇā), Nakula, Dhanuṣa	
	(ii) D—	**Haṁsa (or Mayūra)**	4 or 6	Varada-mudrā, Gadā, Dhanuṣa, Fruit—(*Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra*); Bāṇa, Gadā, Varada-mudrā, Dhanuṣa, Nakula, Mātuliṅga (*Pratiṣṭhātilakam*).	Three or six-faced.
13.	**(i) Ṣaṇmukha—S—**	**Mayūra**	12	Fruit, Cakra, Bāṇa, (or Śakti), Khaḍga, Pāśa, Akṣamālā, Nakula, Cakra, Dhanuṣa, Phalaka, Aṅkuśa, Abhaya-mudrā.	
	(ii) Caturmukha—D—	**Mayūra**	12	Paraśu in upper eight hands and Khaḍga, Akṣasūtra, Kheṭaka, Daṇḍa—mudrā in the remaining four.	
14.	**Pātāla—(i) S—**	**Makara**	6	Padma, Khaḍga, Pāśa, Nakula, Phalaka, Akṣasūtra	Three-faced, three-eyed.

1	2	3	4	5	6
	(ii) D—	Makara	6	Aṅkuśa, Śūla, Padma, Kaṣā, Hala, Fruit. Vajra, Aṅkuśa, Dhanuṣa, Bāṇa, Fruit, Varada-mudrā (*Aparājitapṛcchā*)	Three-faced, Shaded by three-hooded snake canopy.
15.	Kinnara—(i) S—	Kūrma	6	Bījapūraka, Gadā, Abhaya-mudrā, Nakula, Padma, Akṣamālā	Three-faced.
	(ii) D—	Fish	6	Mudgara, Akṣamālā, Varada-mudrā, Cakra, Vajra, Aṅkuśa, Pāśa, Aṅkuśa, Dhanuṣa, Bāṇa, Fruit, Varada-mudrā (*Aparājitapṛcchā*).	Three-faced
16.	Garuḍa—(i) S—	Varāha (or Gaja)	4	Bījapūraka, Padma, Nakula (or Pāśa), Akṣasūtra	Varāha-faced
	(ii) D—	Varāha (or Parrot)	4	Vajra, Cakra, Padma, Fruit, Pāśa, Aṅkuśa, Fruit, Varada-mudrā (*Aparājitapṛcchā*).	
17.	Gandharva—(i) S—	Haṁsa (or Siṁha ?)	4	Varada-mudrā, Pāśa, Mātuliṅga, Aṅkuśa	
	(ii) D—	Pakṣī (or Parrot)	4	Sarpa, Pāśa, Bāṇa, Dhanuṣa. Padma, Abhaya-mudrā, Fruit, Varadamudrā, (*Aparājitapṛcchā*).	
18.	(i) Yakṣendra—S—	Śaṅkha (or Vṛṣabha or Śeṣa)	12	Mātuliṅga, Bāṇa (or Kapāla), Khaḍga, Mudgara, Pāśa (or Śūla), Abhaya-mudrā, Nakula, Dhanuṣa, Kheṭaka, Śūla, Aṅkuśa, Akṣasūtra.	Six-faced, Three-eyed.
	(ii) Khendra or Yakṣeśa. D—	Śaṅkha (or Khara)	12 or 6	Bāṇa, Padma, Fruit, Mālā. Akṣamālā, Līlāmudrā, Dhanuṣa, Vajra, Pāśa, Mudgara, Aṅkuśa, Varada-mudrā. Vajra, Cakra, Dhanuṣa, Bāṇa, Fruit, Varada-mudrā (*Aparājitapṛcchā*).	Six-faced, Three-eyed.

1	2	3	4	5	6
19.	Kubera (or Yakṣeśa) (i) S	Gaja	8	Varada-mudrā, Paraśu, Śūla, Abhaya-mudrā, Bījapūraka, Śakti, Mudgara, Akṣasūtra.	Four-faced, Garuḍa-Vadana, (*Nirvāṇakalikā*)
	(ii) D—	Gaja (or Siṁha)	8 or 4	Phalaka, Dhanuṣa, Daṇḍa, Padma, Khaḍga, Bāṇa, Pāśa, Varada-mudrā. Pāśa, Aṅkuśa, Fruit, Varada-mudrā (*Aparājitapṛcchā*).	Four-faced
20.	Varuṇa—(i) S—	Vṛṣabha	8	Mātuliṅga, Gadā, Bāṇa, Śakti, Nakulaka, Padma (or Akṣamālā), Dhanuṣa, Paraśu.	Jaṭā-mukuṭa, Three-eyed, Four-faced, Twelve eyed (*Ācāradinakara*).
	(ii) D—	Vṛṣabha	4 or 6	Kheṭaka, Khaḍga, Fruit, Varada-mudrā. Pāśa, Aṅkuśa, Kārmuka, Arrow, Uraga, Vajra (*Aparājitapṛcchā*).	Jaṭā-mukuṭa, Three-eyed, Eight-faced.
21.	Bhṛkuṭi—(i) S—	Vṛṣabha	8	Mātuliṅga, Śakti, Mudgara, Abhaya-mudrā, Nakula, Paraśu, Vajra, Akṣasūtra.	Four-faced, Three-eyed, Twelve-eyed (*Ācāradinakara*)
	(ii) D—	Vṛṣabha	8	Kheṭaka, Khaḍga, Dhanuṣa, Bāṇa, Aṅkuśa, Padma, Cakra, Varada-mudrā.	Four-faced.
22.	Gomedha—(i) S—	Nara	6	Mātuliṅga, Paraśu, Cakra, Nakula, Śūla, Śakti.	Three-faced, Nearby Ambikā would be carved(*Ācāradinakara*)
	(ii) D—	Puṣpa (or Nara)	6	Mudgara (or Drughaṇa), Paraśu, Daṇḍa, Fruit, Vajra, Varada-mudrā. *Pratiṣṭhātilakam* envisages the rendering of wealth (Dhana) in place of Drughaṇa.	Three-faced.

1	2	3	4	5	6
23.	(i) Pārśva—S—	Kūrma	4	Mātuliṅga, Uraga (or Gadā), Nakula, Uraga	Elephant-faced, shaded by snake canopy.
	(ii) Dharaṇa—D—	Kūrma	4 or 6	Nāgapāśa, Sarpa, Sarpa, Varada-mudrā.	Shaded by snake canopy.
				Dhanuṣa, Bāṇa, Bhṛṇḍi, Mudgara, Fruit, Varada-mudrā, (*Aparājitapṛcchā*).	
24.	Mātaṅga—(i) S—	Gaja	2	Nākula, Bījapuraka	
	(ii) D—	Gaja	2	Varada-mudrā, Mātuliṅga	Head marked with Dharmacakra.

TABLE II—YAKSA—YAKSĪ ICONOGRAPHY

(B) 24—YAKṢĪ

No.	Yakṣī	Vāhana	No. of arms	Āyudha	Other Symbols
1.	Cakreśvarī (or Apraticakrā) (i) S—	Garuḍa	8 or 12	(i) Varada-mudrā, Bāṇa, Cakra, Pāśa (R), Dhanuṣa, Vajra, Cakra, Aṅkuśa (L). (ii) Cakra in eight hands and Vajra in two and Mātuliṅga and Abhaya-mudrā in the remaining two.	
	(ii) D—	Garuḍa	4 or 12	(i) Cakra in two and Mātuliṅga and Varada-mudrā in the remaining two. (ii) Cakra in eight hands and Vajra in two and Mātuliṅga and Varada—(or Abhaya)—mudrā in the remaining two.	
2.	(i) Ajitā (or Ajitabalā)—S—	Lohāsana (or Cow)	4	Varada-mudrā, Pāśa, Aṅkuśa, Fruit	
	(ii) Rohiṇī—D—	Lohāsana	4	Varada-mudrā, Abhaya-mudrā, Śaṅkha, Cakra	
3.	(i) Duritārī—S—	Meṣa (or Mayūra or Mahiṣa)	4	Varada-mudrā, Akṣamālā, Fruit (or Snake), Abhaya-mudrā	
	(ii) Prajñapti—D—	Pakṣī	6	Ardhendu, Paraśu, Fruit, Varada-mudrā, Khaḍga, Iḍhī (or Piṇḍī)	
4.	(i) Kālikā (or Kālī)—S—	Padma	4	Varada-mudrā, Pāśa, Sarpa, Aṅkuśa	
	(ii) Vajraśṛṅkhalā—D—	Haṁsa	4	Varada-mudrā, Nāga-pāśa, Akṣamālā, Fruit.	
5.	(i) Mahākālī—S—	Padma	4	Varada-mudrā, Pāśa (or Nāga-pāśa), Mātuliṅga, Aṅkuśa.	

1	2	3	4	5	6
	(ii) Puruṣadattā (or Naradattā)—D—	Gaja	4	Varada-mudrā, Cakra. Vajra, Fruit	
6.	(i) Acyutā (or Śyāmā or Mānasī) – S—	Nara	4	Varada-mudrā, Vīṇā (or Pāśa or Bāṇa), Dhanuṣa (or Mātuliṅga), Abhaya-mudrā (or Aṅkuśa)	
	(ii) Manovegā—D—	Aśva	4	Varada-mudrā, Kheṭaka, Khaḍga, Mātuliṅga	
7.	(i) Śāntā – S—	Gaja	4	Varada-mudrā, Akṣamālā (or Muktāmālā), Śūla (or Triśūla), Abhaya-mudrā. Varada-mudrā, Akṣamālā, Pāśa, Aṅkuśa (*Mantrādhirājakalpa*).	
	(ii) Kālī—D—	Vṛṣabha	4	Ghaṇṭa, Triśūla (or Śūla), Fruit, Varada-mudrā.	
8.	(i) Bhṛkuṭi (or Jvālā)—S—	Varāha (or Varāla or Marāla or Haṁsa)	4	Khaḍga, Mudgara, Phalaka (or Mātuliṅga), Paraśu.	
	(ii) Jvālāmālinī—D—	Mahiṣa	8	Cakra, Dhanuṣa, Pāśa (or Nāgapāśa), Carma (or Phalaka), Triśūla (or Śūla), Bāṇa, Matsya, Khaḍga.	
9.	(i) Sutārā (or Caṇḍālikā) S—	Vṛṣabha	4	Varada-mudrā, Akṣamālā, Kalaśa, Aṅkuśa	
	(ii) Mahākālī—D—	Kūrma	4	Vajra, Mudgara (Gadā), Fruit (or Abhaya-mudrā), Varada-mudrā.	
10.	(i)Aśokā (or Gomedhikā)—S—	Padma	4	Varada-mudrā, Pāśa (or Nāgapāśa), Fruit, Aṅkuśa.	
	(ii) Mānavī—D—	Śūkara (Nāga)	4	Fruit, Varada-mudrā, Jhaṣa, Pāśa	
11.	(i) Mānavī (or Śrīvatsā)—S—	Siṁha	4	Varada-mudrā, Mudgara (or Pāśa), Kalaśa (or Vajra or Nakula), Aṅkuśa (or Akṣasūtra)	

1	2	3	4	5	6
	(ii) Gaurī—D—	Mṛga	4	Mudgara (or Pāśa), Abja, Kalaśa (or Aṅkuśa), Varada-mudrā.	
12.	(i) Caṇḍā (or Pracaṇḍā or Ajitā)—S—	Aśva	4	Varada-mudrā, Śakti, Puṣpa (or Pāśa), Gadā	
	(ii) Gāndhārī—D—	Padma (or Makara)	4 or 2	Musala, Padma, Varada-mudrā, Padma. Padma, Fruit (*Aparājitapṛcchā*)	
13.	(i) Viditā—S—	Padma	4	Bāṇa, Pāśa, Dhanuṣa, Sarpa	
	(ii) Vairoṭyā (or Vairoṭī)—D—	Sarpa (or Vyomayāna)	4 or 6	Sarpa, Sarpa, Dhanuṣa, Bāṇa. Varada-mudrā in two hands and Khaḍga, Kheṭaka, Kārmuka and Arrow in remaining four. (*Aparājitapṛcchā*).	
14.	(i) Aṅkuśā—S—	Padma	4 or 2	Khaḍga, Pāśa, Kheṭaka, Aṅkuśa. Phalaka, Aṅkuśa (*Padmānandamahākāvya*).	
	(ii) Anantamatī—D—	Haṁsa	4	Dhanuṣa, Bāṇa, Fruit, Varada-mudrā.	
15.	(i) Kandarpā (or Pannagā)—S—	Matsya	4	Utpala, Aṅkuśa, Padma, Abhaya-mudrā.	
	(ii) Mānasī—D—	Vyāghra	6	Padma in two hands and Dhanuṣa, Varada-mudrā, Aṅkuśa, Bāṇa in the remaining four. Triśūla, Pāśa, Cakra, Ḍamaru, Fruit, Varada-mudrā. (*Aparājitapṛcchā*)	
16.	(i) Nirvāṇī—S—	Padma	4	Pustaka, Utpala, Kamaṇḍalu, Padma (or Varada-mudrā)	

1	2	3	4	5	6
	(ii) Mahāmānasī —D—	Mayūra (or Garuḍa)	4	Fruit, Sarpa (or Iḍhi or Khaḍga ?), Cakra, Varada-mudrā. Bāṇa, Dhanuṣa, Vajra, Cakra (*Aparājitapṛcchā*).	
17.	(i) Balā—S—	Mayūra	4	Bījapūraka, Śūla (or Triśūla), Muṣuṇḍhi (or Padma), Padma.	
	(ii) Jayā—D—	Śūkara	4 or 6	Śaṅkha, Khaḍga, Cakra, Varada-mudrā. Vajra, Cakra, Pāśa, Aṅkuśa, Fruit, Varada-mudrā (*Aparājitapṛcchā*)	
18.	(i) Dhāraṇī (or Kālī) S—	Padma	4	Mātuliṅga, Utpala, Pāśa (or Padma), Akṣasūtra	
	(ii) Tārāvatī (or Vijayā) —D	Haṁsa (or Siṁha)	4	Sarpa, Vajra, Mṛga (or Cakra), Varada-mudrā (or Fruit)	
19.	(i) Vairoṭyā—S—	Padma	4	Varade-mudrā, Akṣasūtra, Mātuliṅga, Śakti	
	(ii) Aparājitā—D—	Śarabha	4	Fruit, Khaḍga, Kheṭaka, Varada-mudrā.	
20.	(i) Naradattā—S—	Bhadrāsana (or Siṁha)	4	Varada-mudrā, Akṣasūtra, Bījapūraka, Kumbha (or Śūla or Triśūla)	
	(ii) Bahurūpiṇī—D—	Kālanāga	4 or 2	Kheṭaka, Khaḍga, Fruit, Varada-mudrā. Khaḍga, Kheṭaka (*Aparājitapṛcchā*)	
21.	(i) Gāndhārī (or Mālinī)—S—	Haṁsa	4 or 8	Varada-mudrā, Khaḍga, Bījapūraka, Kumbha (or Śūla or Phalaka). Akṣamālā, Vajra, Paraśu, Nakula, Varada-mudrā, Khaḍga, Kheṭaka, Mātuliṅga (*Devatāmūrtiprakaraṇa*).	
	(ii) Cāmuṇḍā (or Kusumamālinī)—D—	Makara (or Markaṭa)	4 or 8	Daṇḍa, Kheṭaka, Akṣamālā, Khaḍga. Śūla, Khaḍga, Mudgara, Pāśa, Vajra, Cakra, Ḍamaru, Akṣamālā (*Aparājitapṛcchā*).	

1	2	3	4	5	6
22.	Ambikā (or Kuṣmāṇḍī or Āmrādevī)—(i) S—	Siṁha	4	Mātuliṅga (or Āmralumbi), Pāśa, Son, Aṅkuśa	Second son near by.
	(ii) D –	Siṁha	2	Āmralumbi, Son. Fruit, Varada (*Aparājitapṛcchā*).	Second son nearby under mango-tree.
23.	Padmāvatī—(i) S—	Kukkuṭa-sarpa (or Kukkuṭa)	4	Padma, Pāśa, Fruit, Aṅkuśa	Three-hooded snake canopy overhead.
	(ii) D—	Padma (or Kukkuṭa-sarpa or Kukkuṭa)	4,6 or 24	(i) Aṅkuśa, Akṣasūtra (or Pāśa), Padma, Varada-mudrā. (ii) Pāśa, Khaḍga, Śūla, Ardhacandra, Gadā, Musala. (iii) Śaṅkha, Khaḍga, Cakra, Ardhacandra, Padma, Utpala, Dhanuṣa, Śakti, Pāśa, Aṅkuśa, Bāṇa, Ghaṇṭa, Musala, Kheṭaka, Triśūla, Paraśu, Kunta, Bhiṇḍa, Mālā, Fruit, Gadā, Patra, Pallava, Varada-mudrā.	Three-hooded snake canopy overhead.
24.	(i) Siddhāyikā—S—	Siṁha (or Gaja)	4 or 6	(i) Pustaka, Abhaya-mudrā, Mātuliṅga (or Pāśa), Bāṇa (or Vīṇā or Padma). (ii) Pustaka, Abhaya-mudrā, Varada-mudrā, Kharāyudha, Vīṇā Fruit (*Mantrādhirājakalpa*)	
	(ii) Siddhāyinī—D—	Bhadrāsana (or Siṁha)	2	Varada-mudrā (or Abhaya-mudrā), Pustaka.	

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37. Bharata Cakravartin; standing as sky-clad in *kāyotsarga-mudrā* with some of the *prātihāryas* (triple parasol, drum-beater, hovering *mālādharas*) and conventional nine treasures (*nāvanidhīs*-in the form of nine vases topped by the figure of Kubera) and fourteen jewels (*ratnas-cakra, chatra*; thunderbolt; sword, elephant; horse etc.), Temple No. 2, Deogarh (Lalitpur; U. P.), 11th century A. D.

38. Bāhubalī (or Gommaṭeśvara), the second son of first Jina Ṛṣabhanātha; standing as sky-clad in *kāyotsarga-mudrā* with the rising creepers entwining round legs and hands, Śrvaṇabeḷgolā (Hassan, Karnataka); c. ninth century A. D., Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay (105). According to Jaina works, Bāhubalī obtained *kevala-jñāna* (omniscience) through rigorous austerities and stood in *kāyotsarga-mudrā* for one whole year and during the course of his *tapas* snakes, lizards and scorpions crept on his body and meandering vines entwined round his hands and legs, which all suggest the deep meditation of Bāhubalī and also that he remained immune to his surroundings.

39. Bāhubalī Gommaṭeśvara (57 ft.), standing as sky-clad in *kāyotsarga-mudrā* with climbing plant fastened round his thighs and hands, and ant-hills carved nearby with snakes issuing out of them, Śravaṇabeḷoglā (Hassan, Karnataka). c. 983 A. D. The half-shut eyes of Bāhubalī suggest deep meditation and inward look. The nudity of the figure indicates the absolute renunciation of a *kevalin*, and the stiff erectness of posture firm determination and self-control. The face has a benign smile, serenity and contemplative gaze. James Fergusson observes : "Nothing grander or more imposing exists anywhere out of Egypt, and, even there, no known statue surpasses it in height"—(*History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, London, 1910, p. 72). The image was got prepared by Cāmuṇḍarāya, the minister of the Gaṅga King Rācamalla IV (974-984 A. D.).

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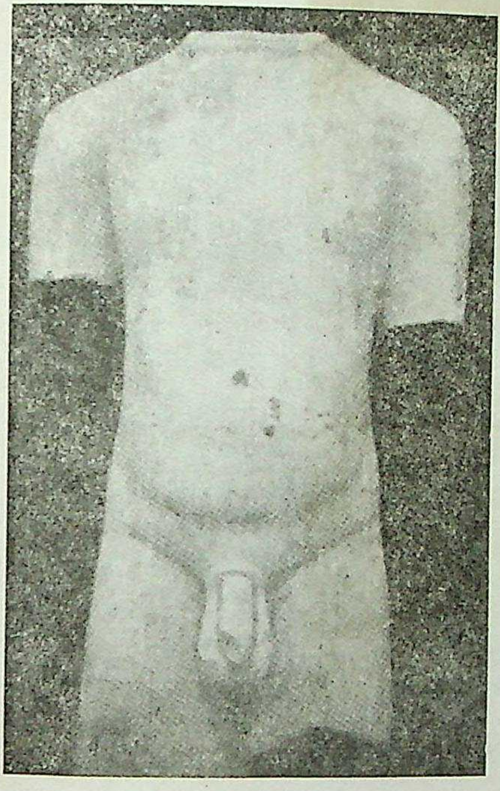

Fig. 1 Jina, Lohanipur (Bihar), c. third cent. B. C.

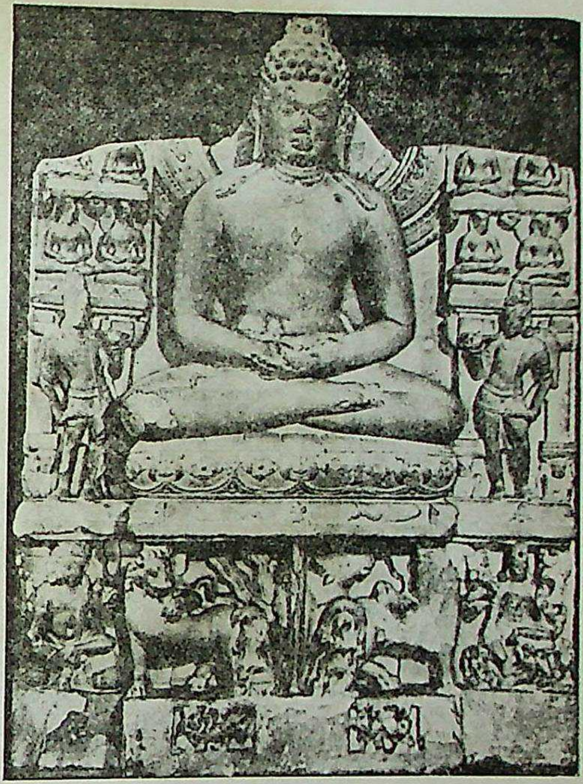

Fig. 3 Rishabhanatha, Orai (U. P.), c. 10th-11th cent.

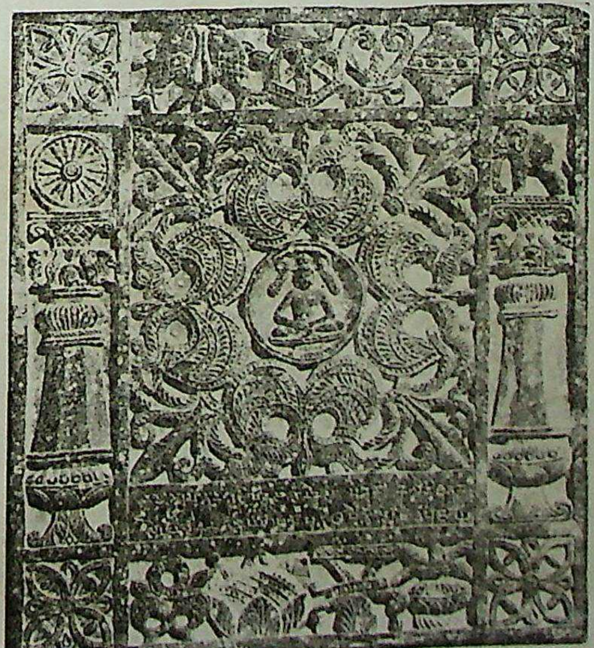

Fig. 2 Ayagapata, Mathura, c. first cent.

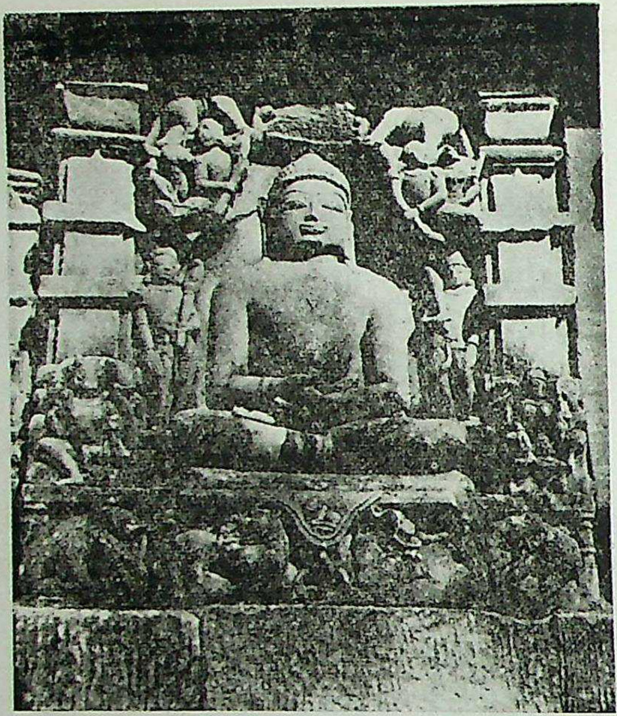

Fig. 4 Rishabhanatha, Temple 1, Deogarh, c. 11th cent.

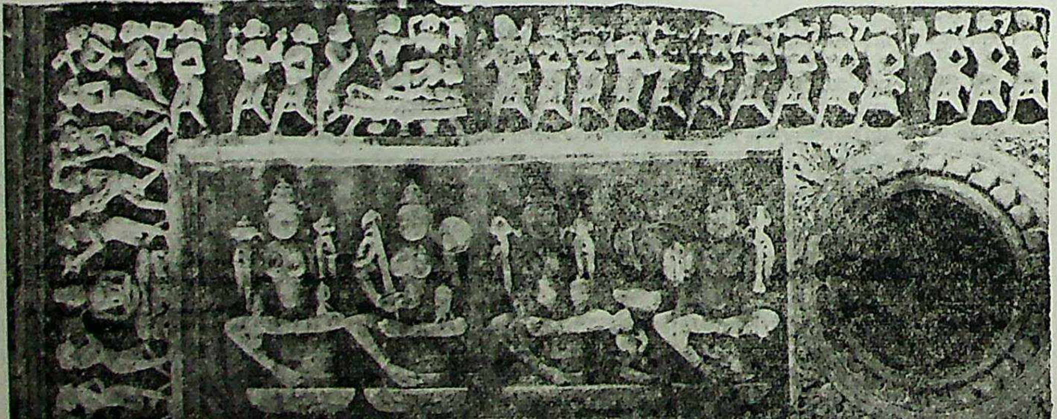

Fig. 6 Rishabhanatha-Narratives, Mahavira Temple, Kumbharia (Gujarat), 11th cent.

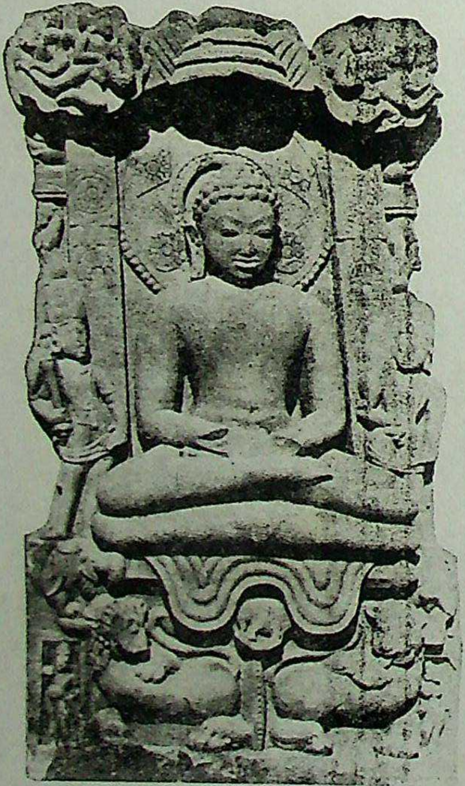

Fig. 7 Ajitanatha, Temple 12, Deogarh
c. 10th-11th cent.

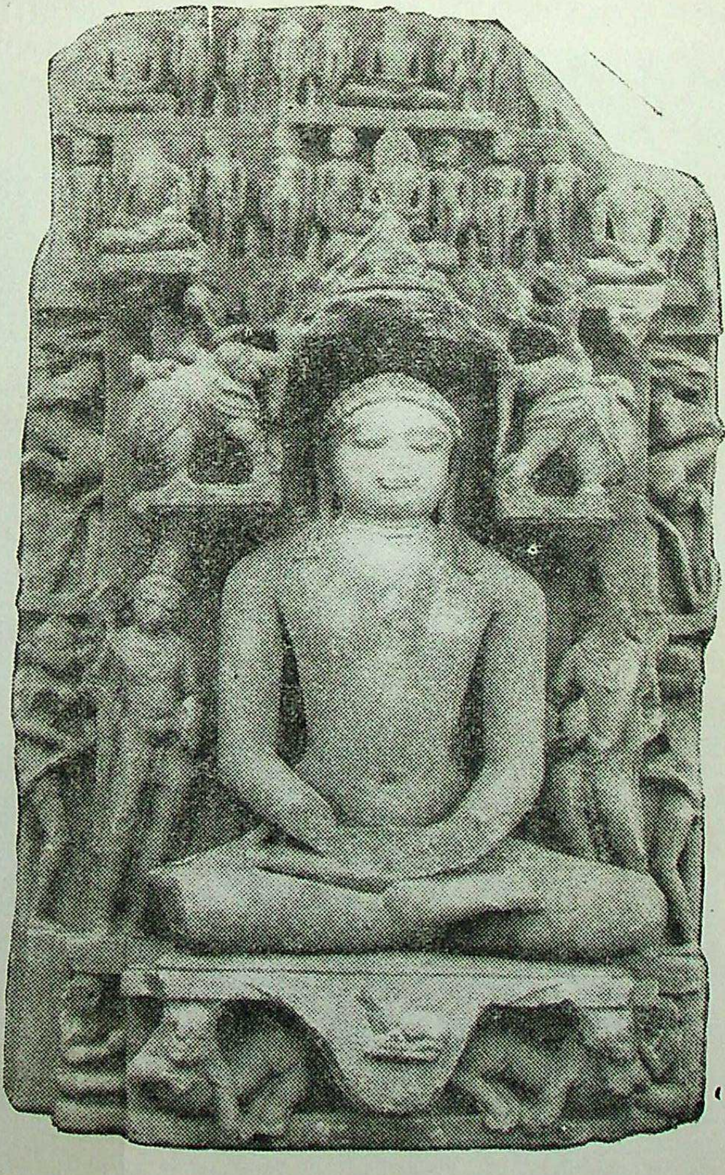

Fig. 5 Rishabhanatha, Khajuraho, c. 11th cent.

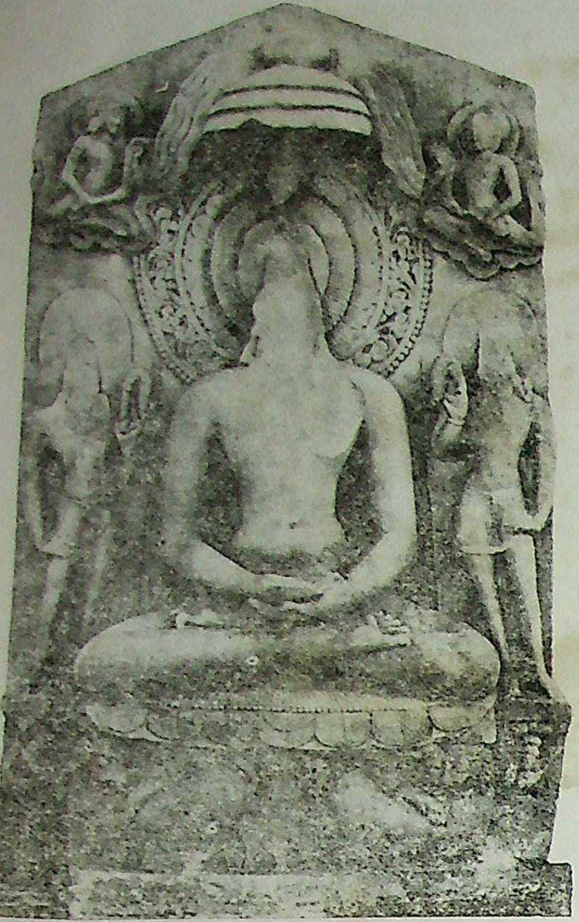

Fig. 8 Candraprabha, Kausambhi (U. P.), 9th cent.

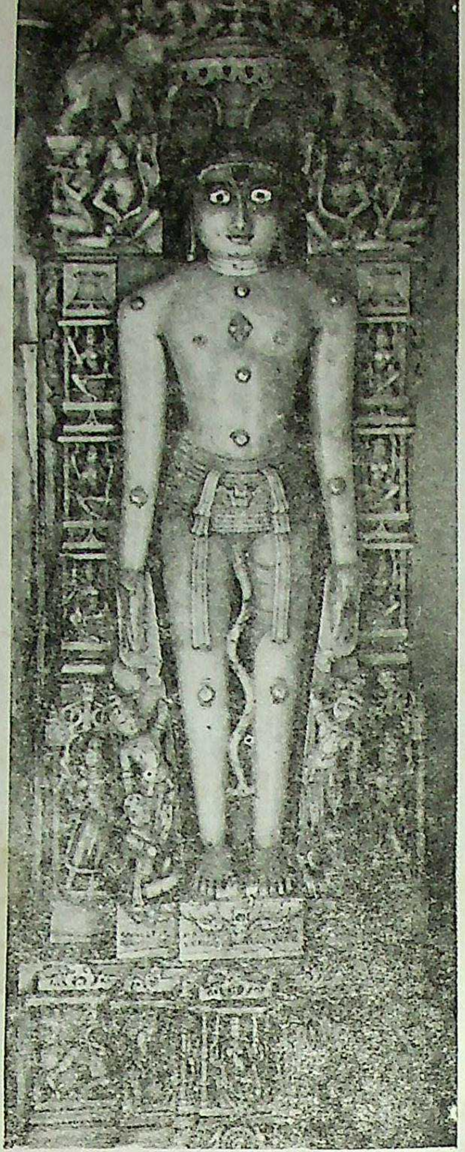

Fig. 10 Shantinatha, Parshvanatha Temple, Kumbharia, 1119-20

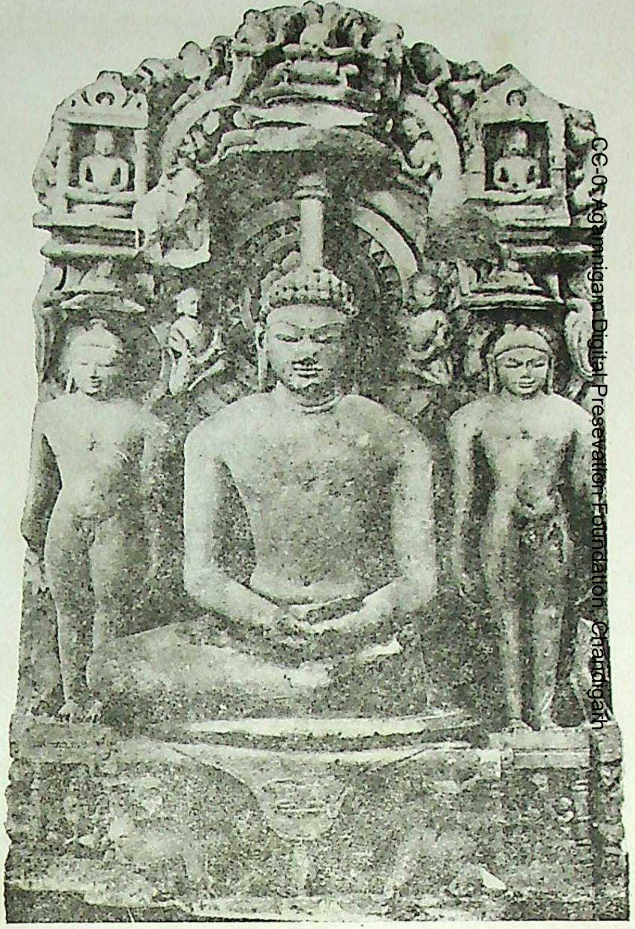

Fig. 9 Shantinatha, Pabhosa (U. P.), 11th cent.

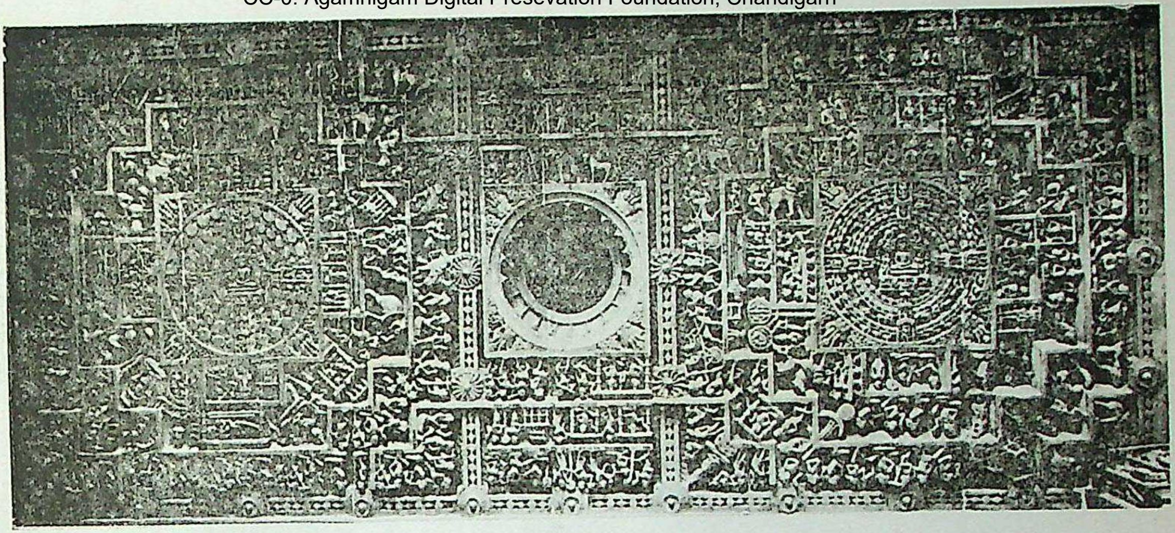

Fig. 11 Shantinatha and Neminatha-Narratives, Mahavira Temple, Kumbharia, 11th cent.

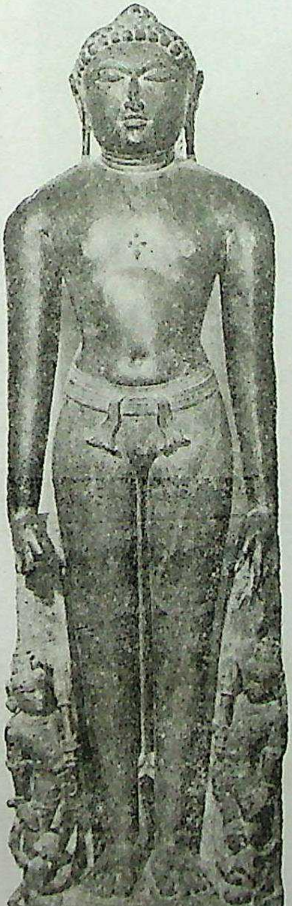

Fig. 12 Munisuvrata, Western India, 11th cent.

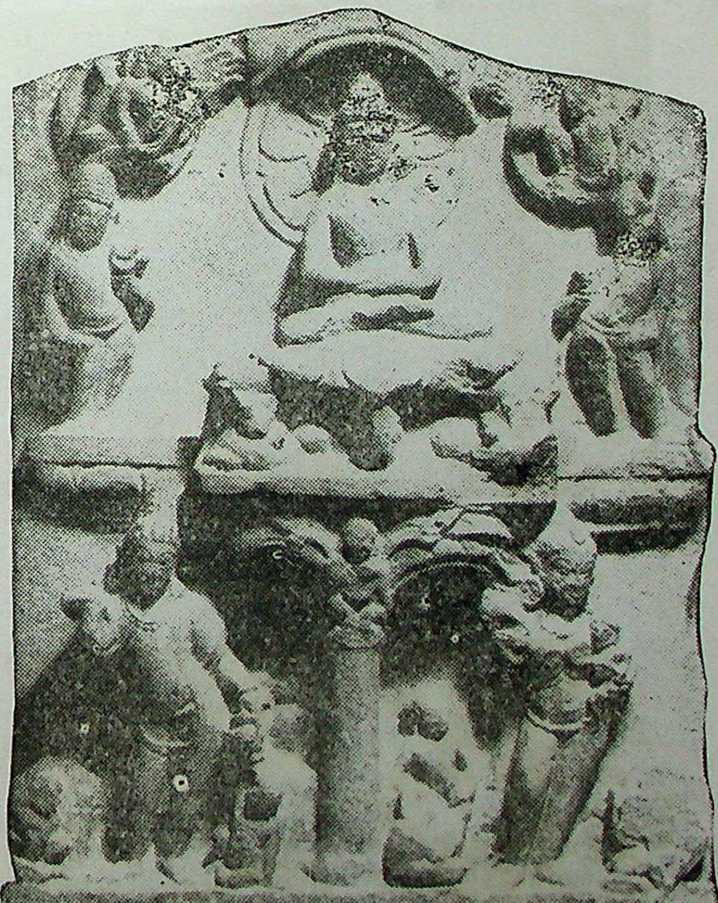

Fig. 13 Neminatha, Rajghat (U. P.), c. 7th cent.

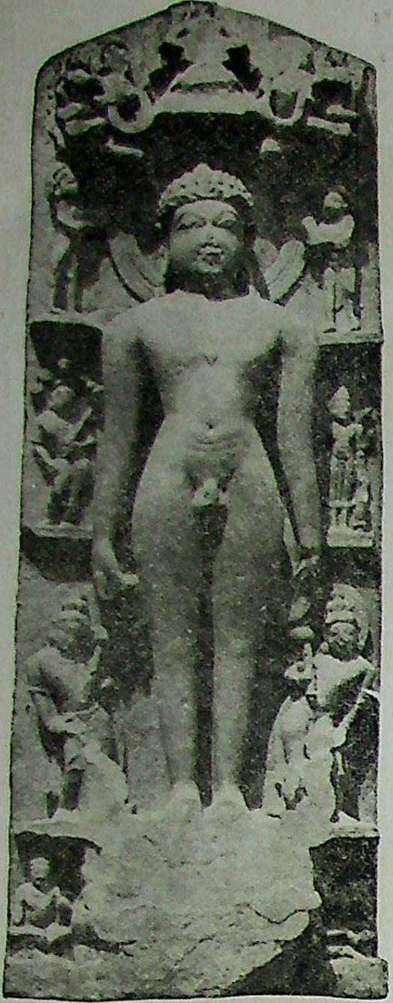

Fig. 14 Neminatha, Temple 2, Deogarh, 10th cent.

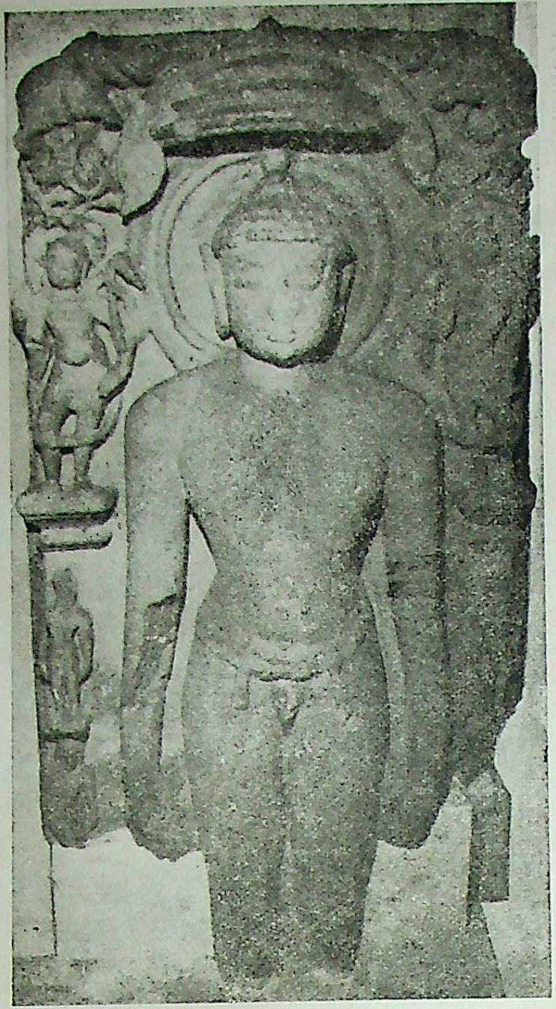

Fig. 15 Neminatha, Mathura (?), 11th cent.

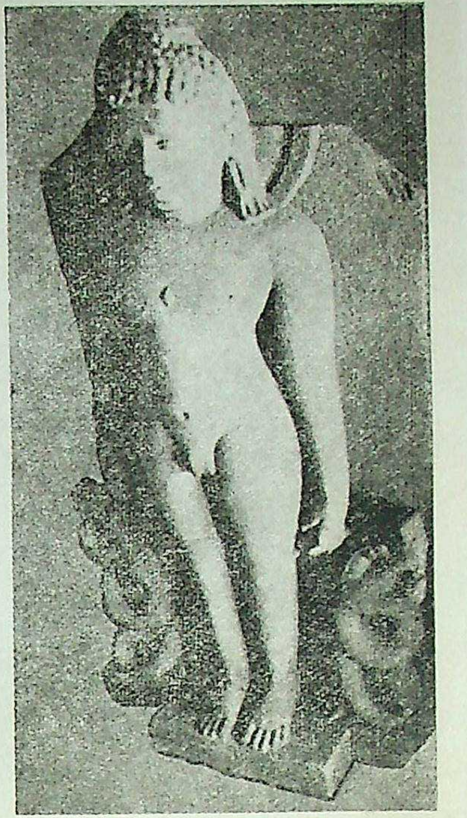

Fig. 17 Parshvanatha, Temple 6, Deogarh, 10th cent.

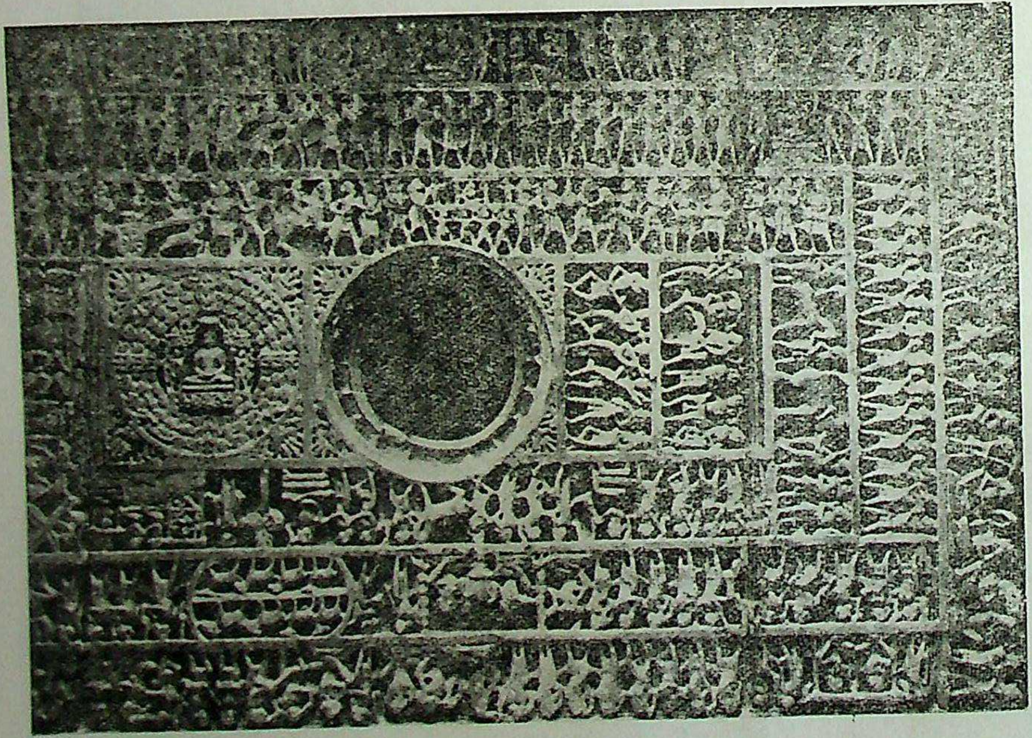

Fig. 16 Neminatha-Narratives, Shantinatha Temple, Kumbharia, 11th cent.

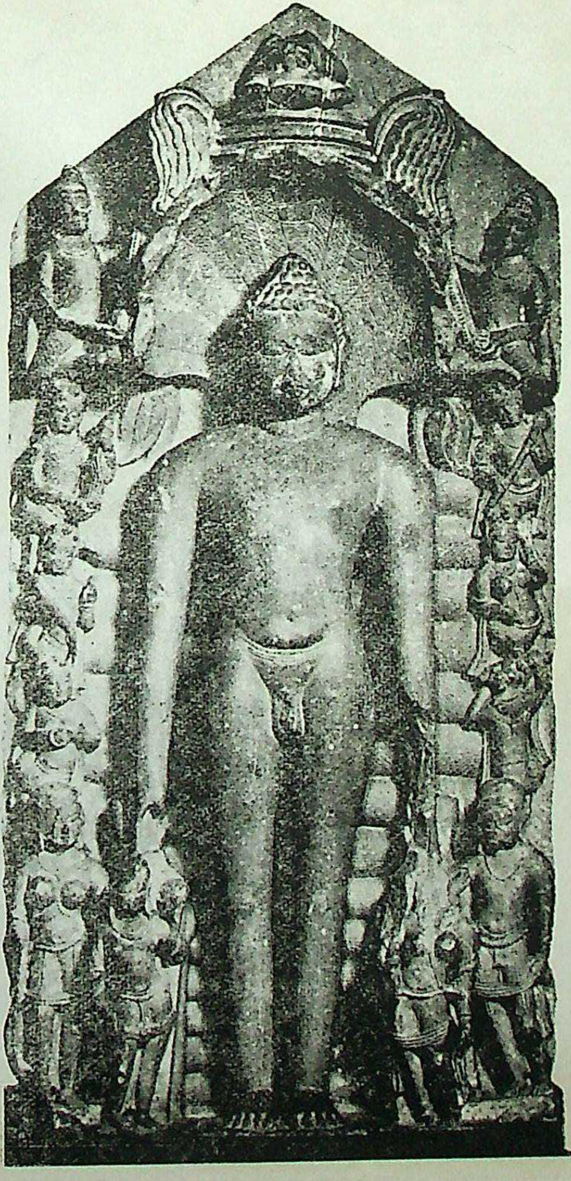

Fig. 18 Parshvanatha, Rajasthan, 11th-12th cent.

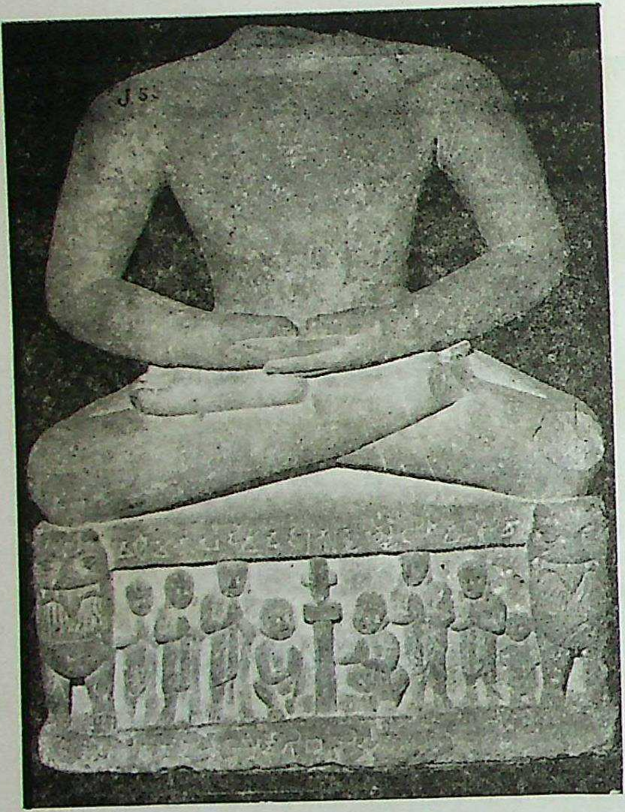

Fig. 19 Mahavira, Mathura, Kushana Period

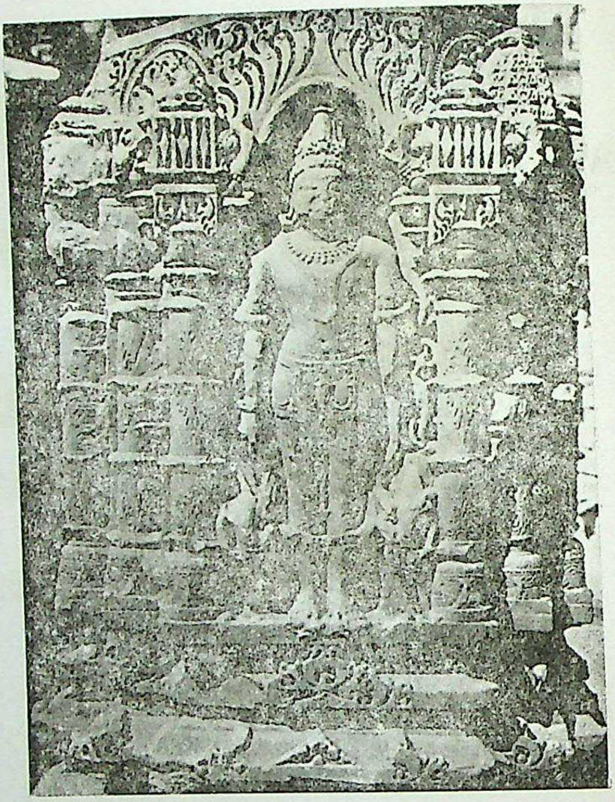

Fig. 20 Jivantasvami Mahavira, Osia (Rajasthan), 11th cent

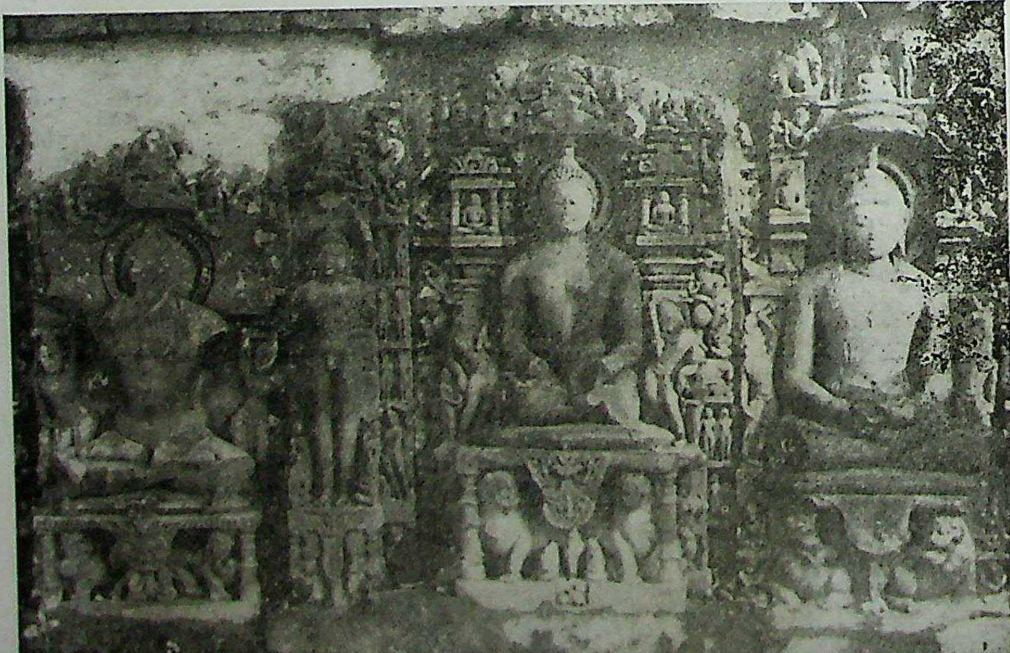

Fig. 22 Jina Images, Khajuraho, c. 10th-11th cent.

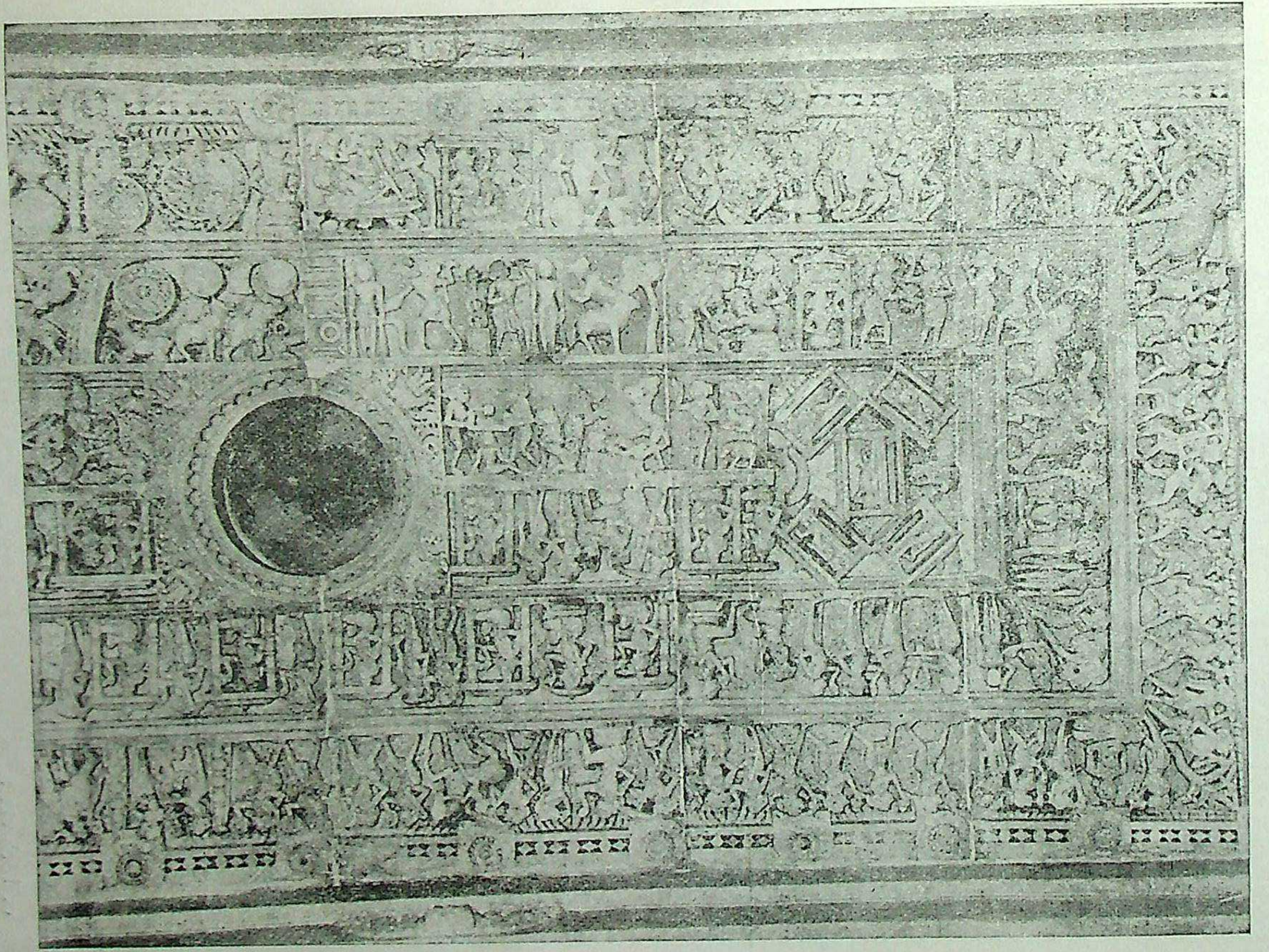

Fig. 21 Mahavira—Narratives, Mahavira Temple. Kumbharia, 11 cent.

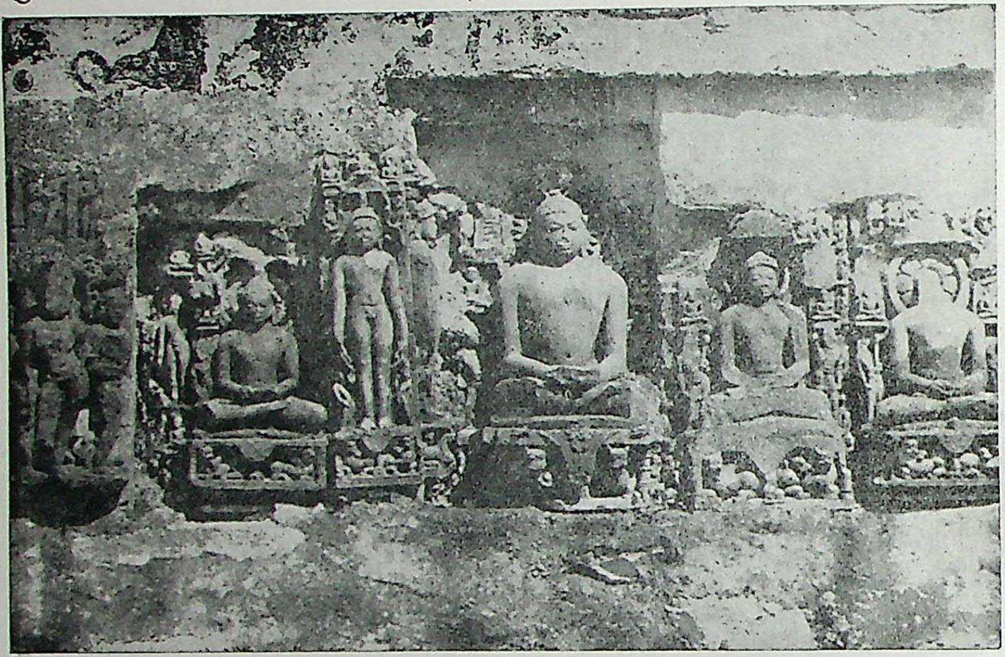

Fig. 23 Jina images, Khajuraho, c. 10th-11th cent.

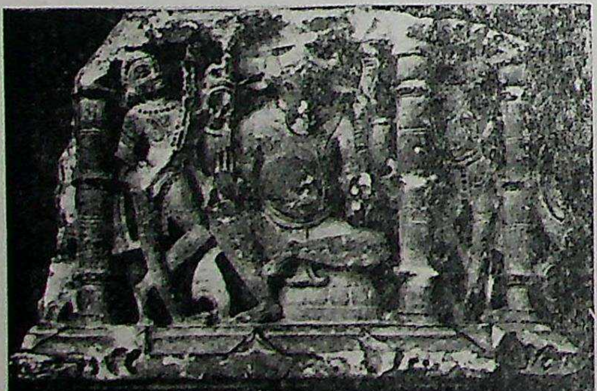

Fig. 24 Gomukha, Hathma (Rajasthan), c. 10th cent.

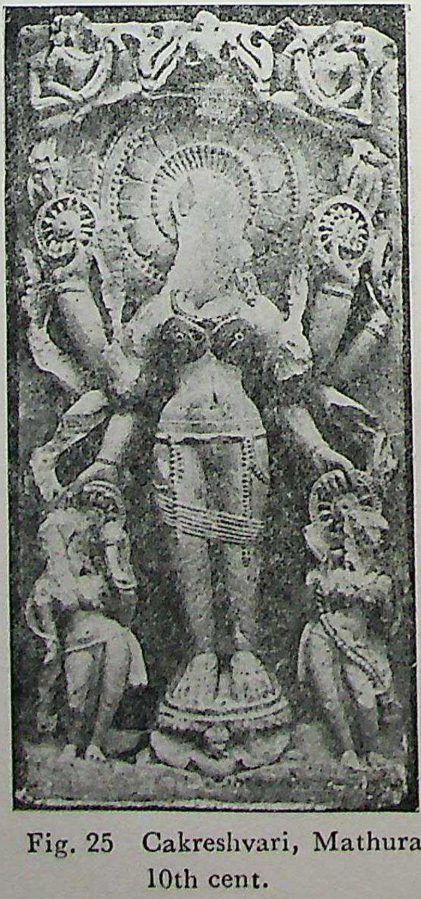

Fig. 25 Cakreshvari, Mathura, 10th cent.

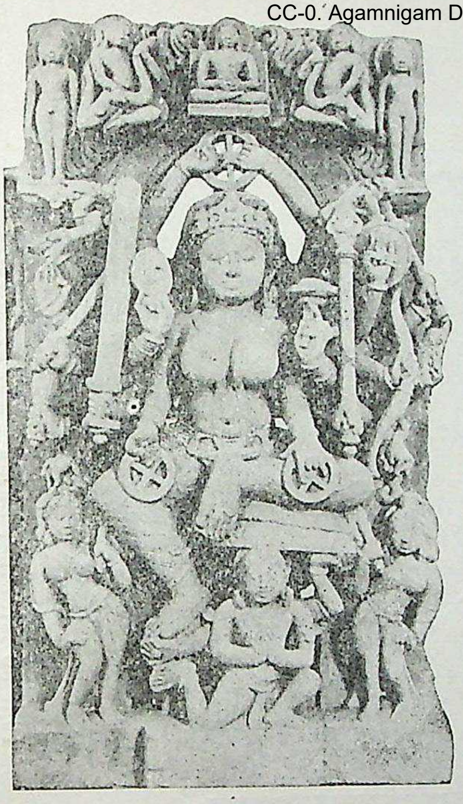

Fig. 26

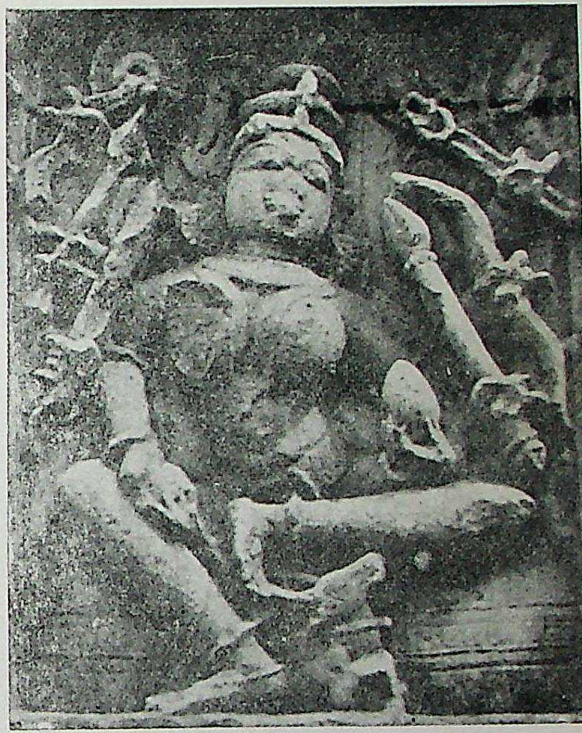

Fig. 27

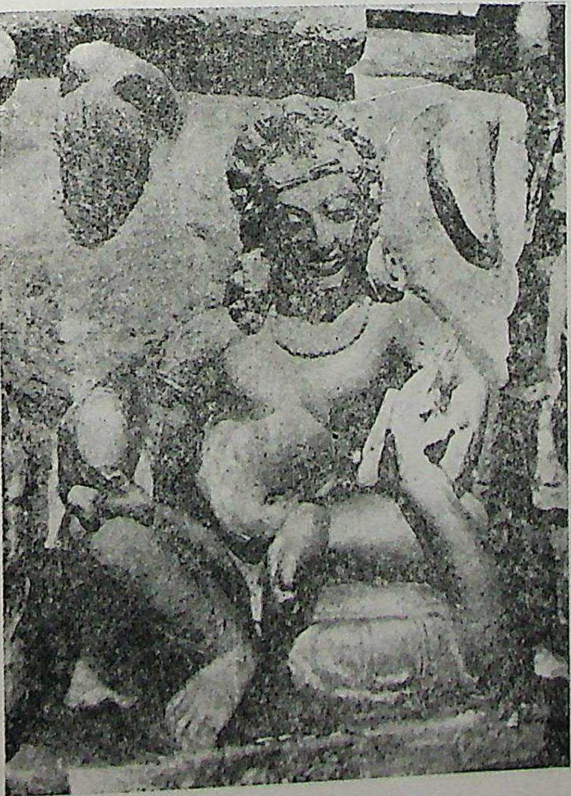

Fig. 28

26 Cakreshvari, Deogarh, 11th cent.

27 Rohini, Temple 11, Deogarh, 11th cent.

28 Sarvanubhuti, Deogarh, 10th cent.

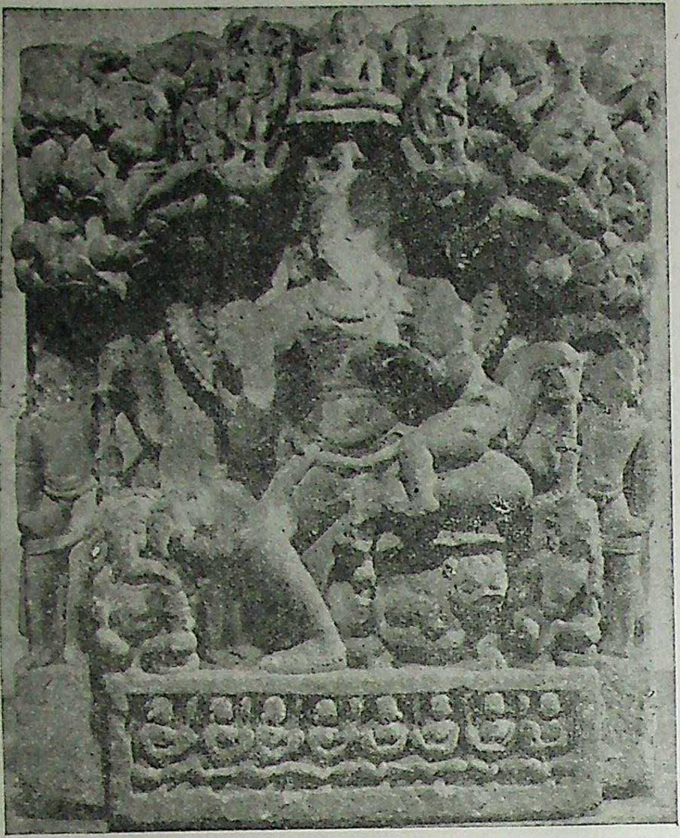

Fig. 29 Ambika, Provenance (?), ninth cent.

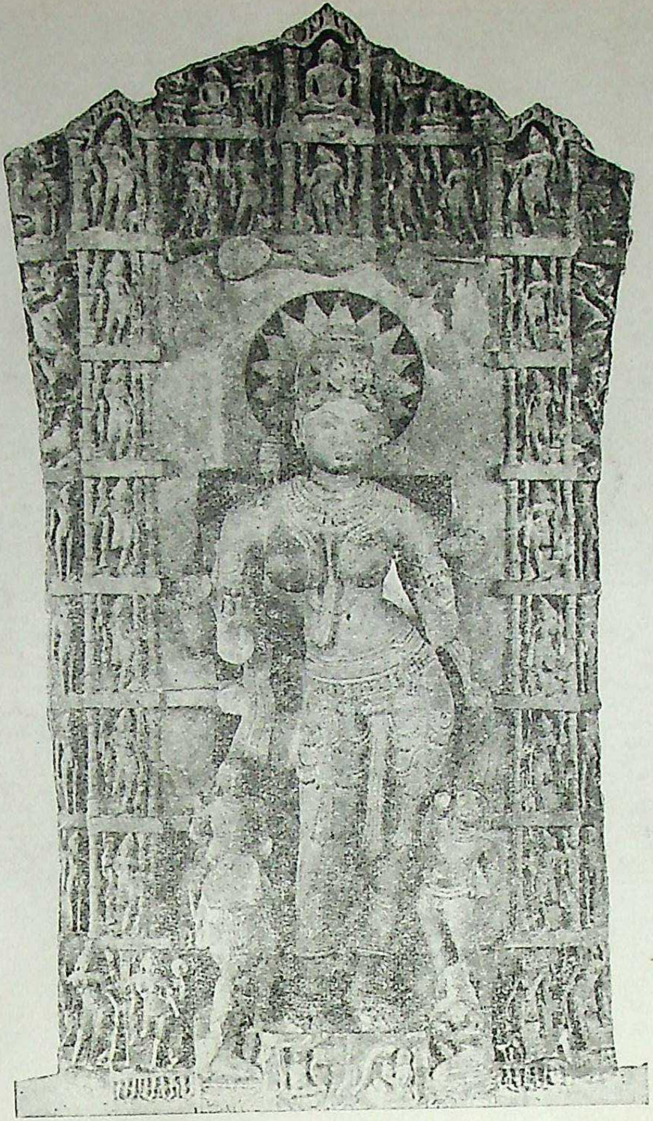

Fig. 30 Ambika, Satna (M. P.), 11th cent.

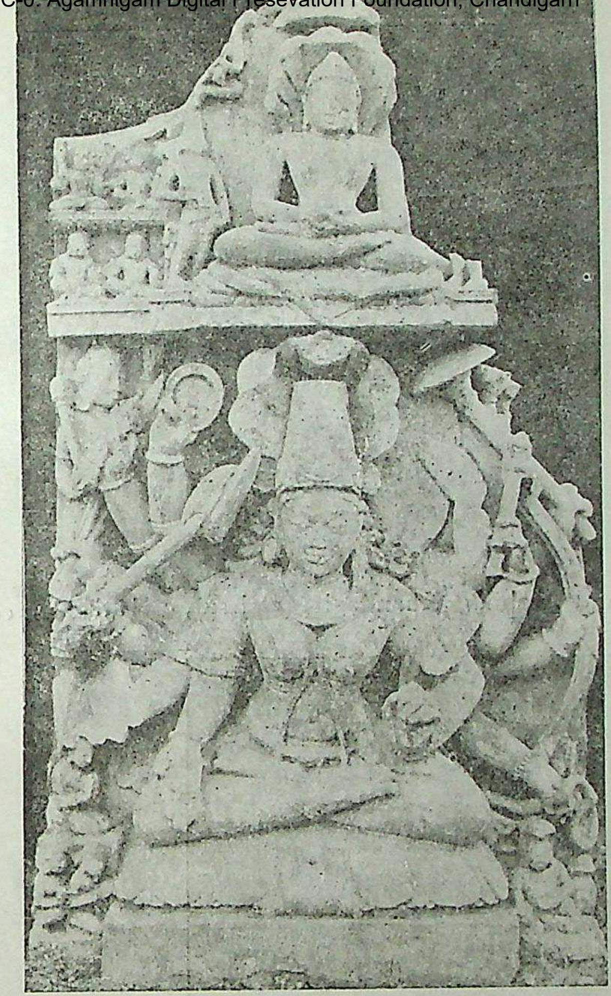

Fig. 31 Padmavati, Shahdol (M. P.)
11th cent.

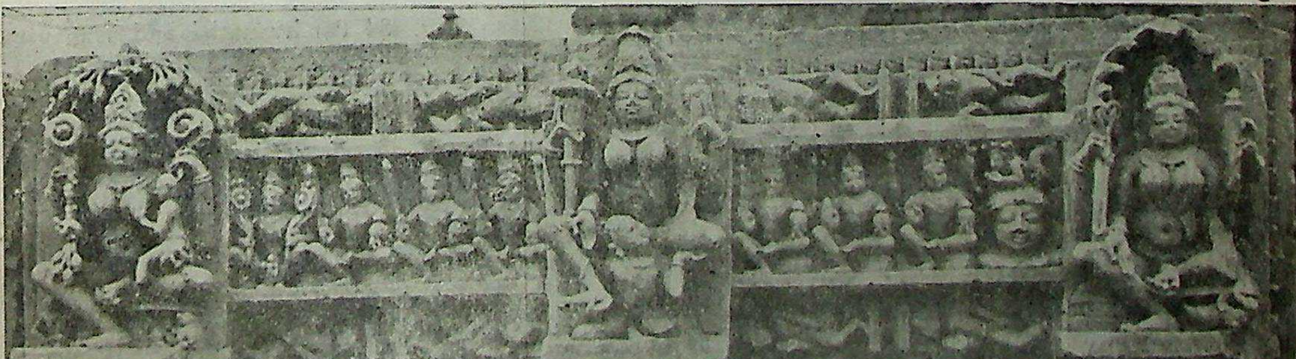

Fig. 32 Door-lintel, Khajuraho, 11th cent.

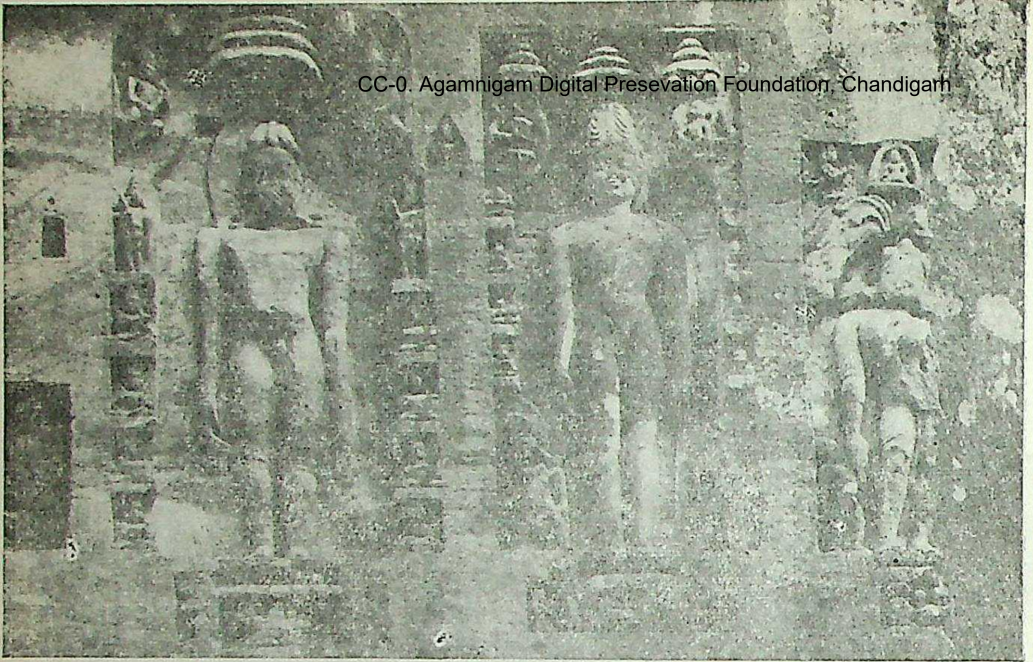

Fig. 33 Rishabhanatha and Ambika, Khandagiri (Orissa), c. 10th-11th cent.

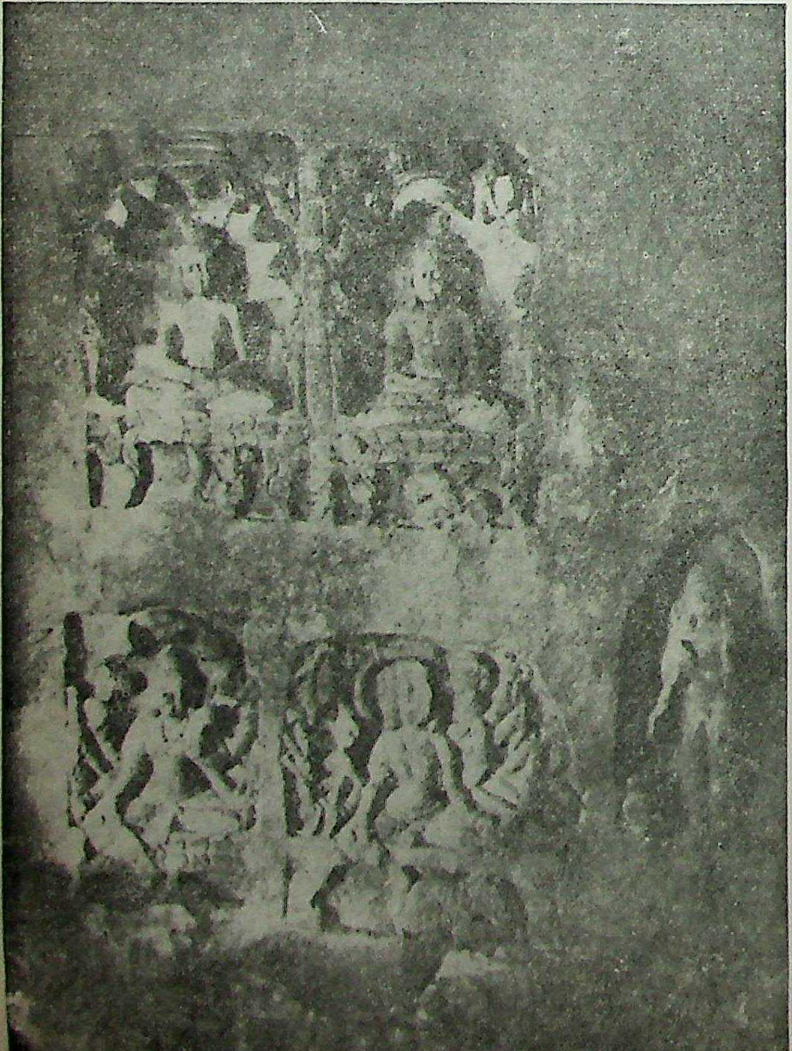

Fig. 34 Parshvanatha and Mahavira with Shasanadevis, Khandagiri c. 11th-12th cent.

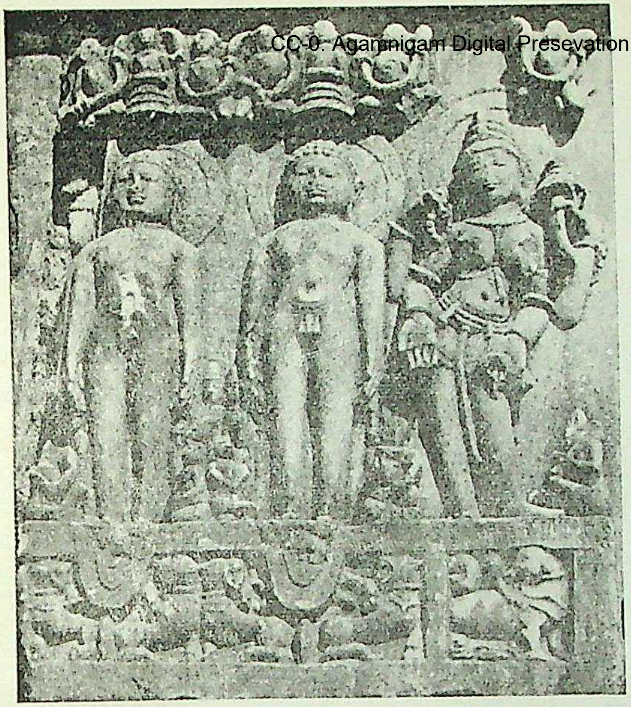

Fig. 35 Tritirthi Image, Temple 1, Deogarh, 11th cent.

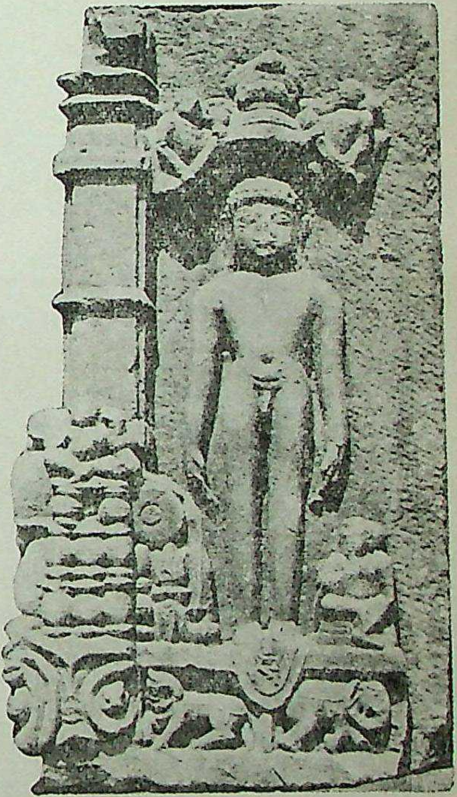

Fig. 37 Bharata, Temple 2, Deogarh, 11th cent.

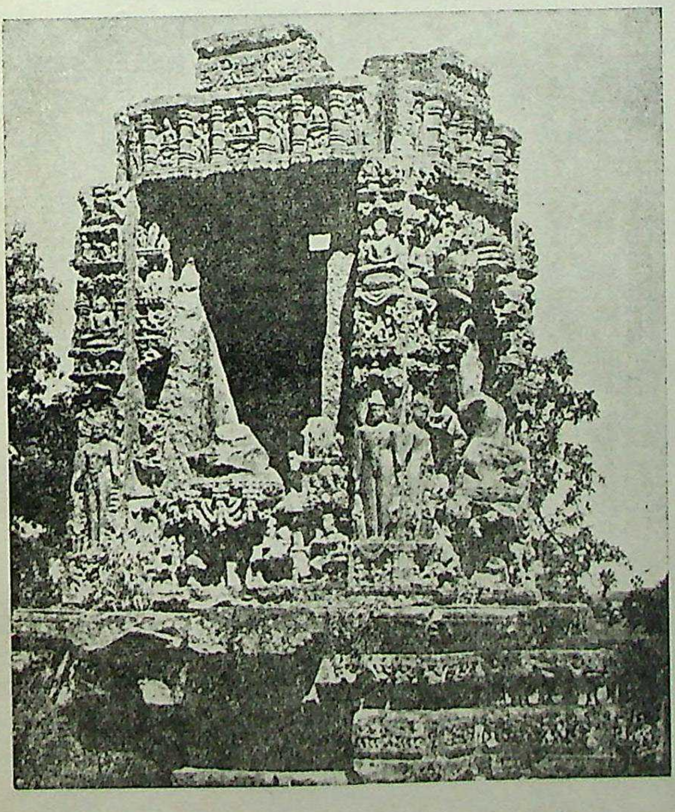

Fig. 36 Caumukhi Jinalaya, Indor (M.P.), 11th cent.

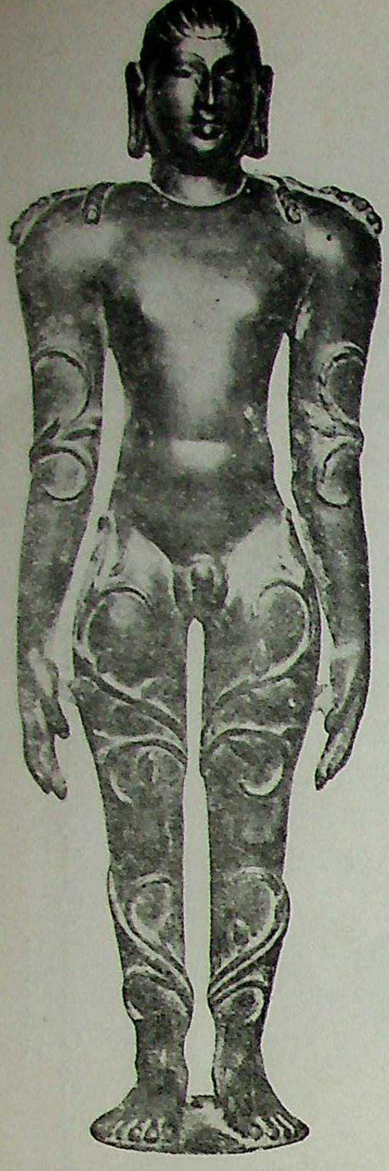

Fig. 38 Bahubali, Shravanabelgola (Karnataka), c. ninth cent.

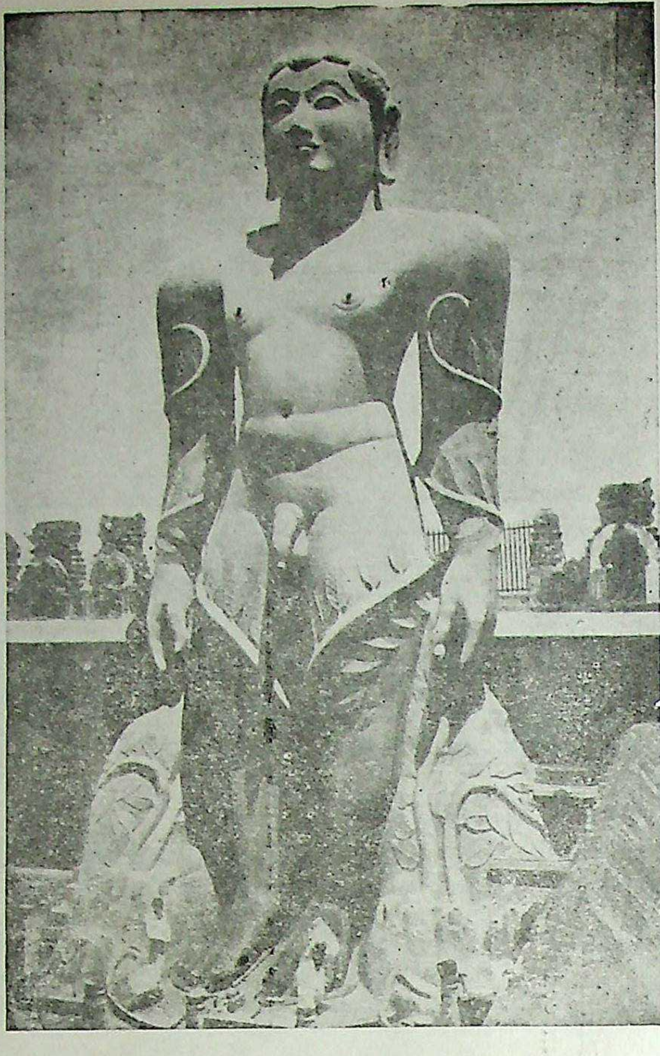

Fig. 39 Bahubali, Shravanabelgola, c. 983

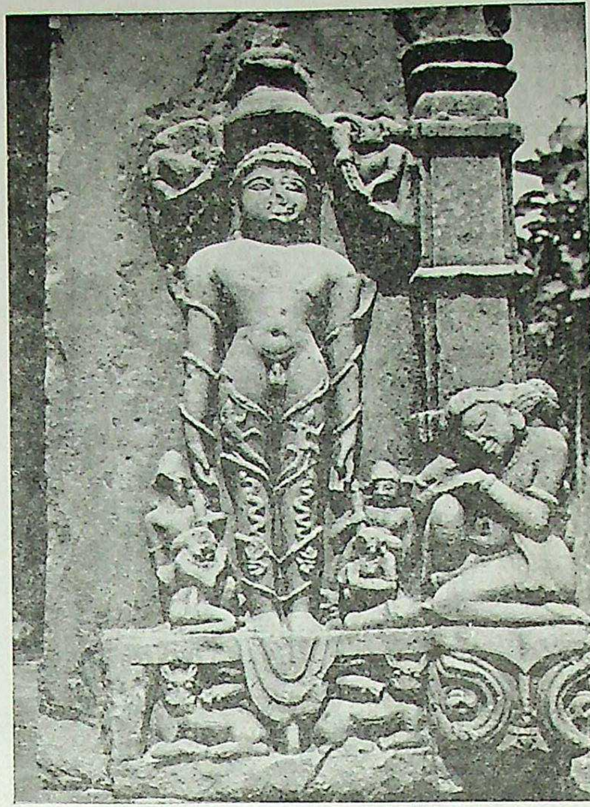

Fig. 40 Bahubali, Temple 2, Deogarh, 11th cent.

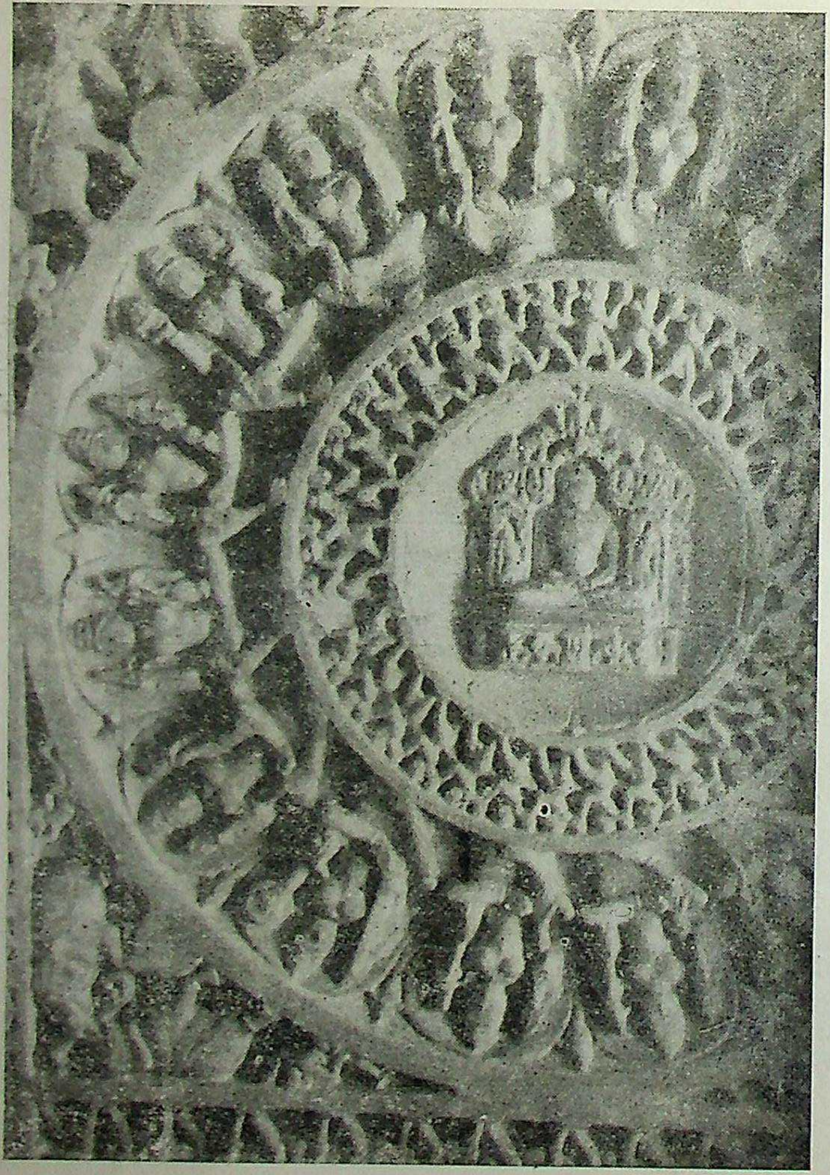

Fig. 42 Mahavidyas, Shantinatha Temple, Kumbharia, 11th cent.

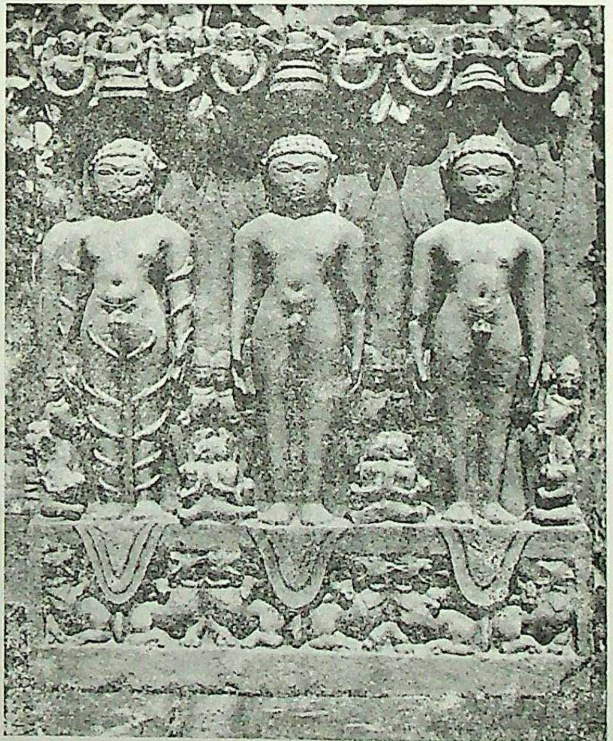

Fig. 41 Tritirthi, Temple 2, Deogarh, 11th cent.

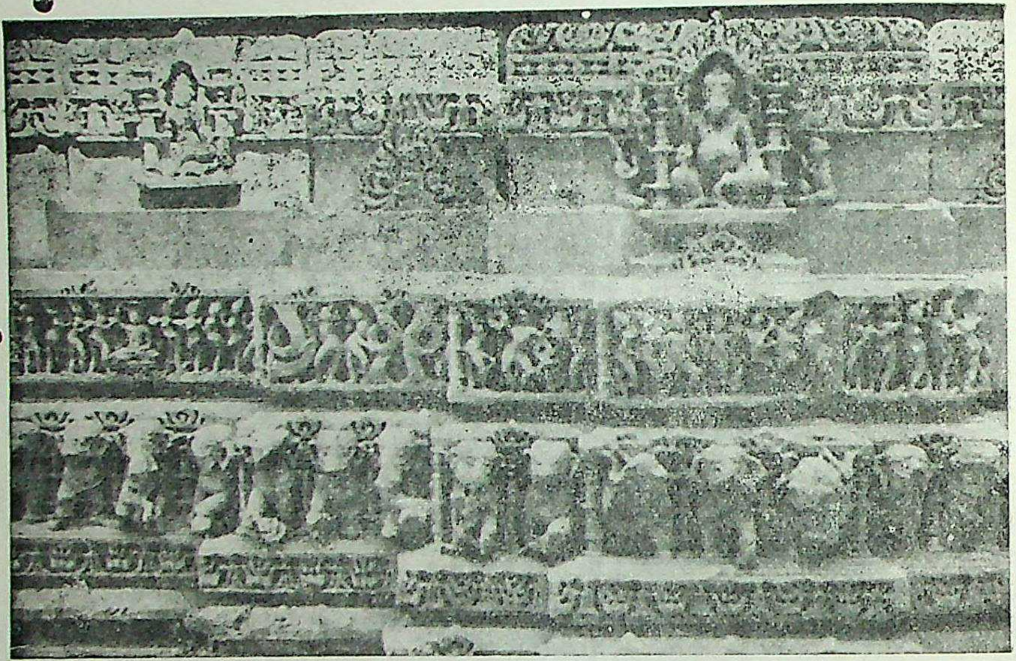

Fig. 43 Ganesha and Narratives from the life of a Jina, Devakulika, Osia, 11th cent.

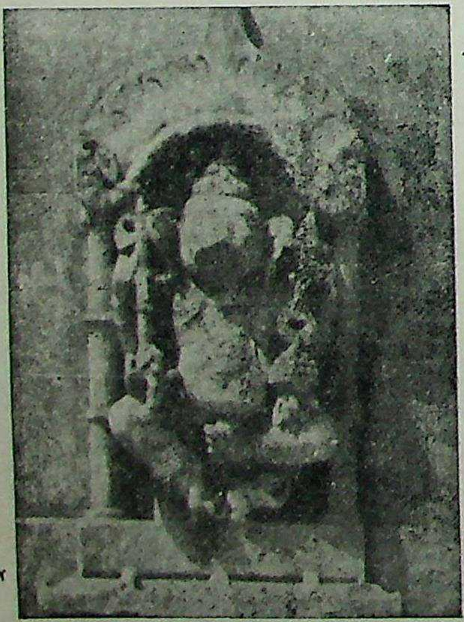

Fig. 44 Ganesha, Neminatha Temple, Kumbharia, 1148.

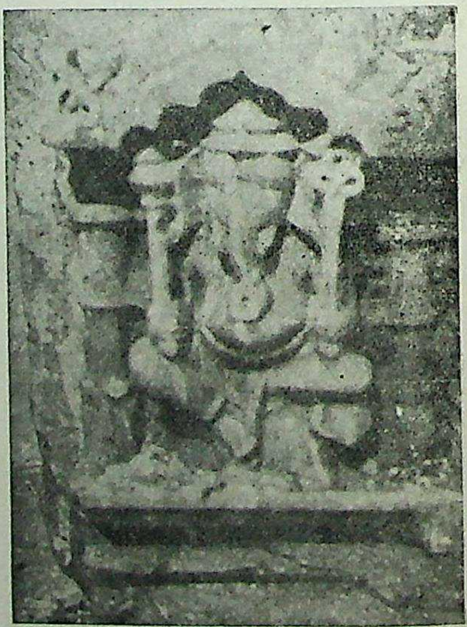

Fig. 45 Ganesha, Suparshvanatha Temple, Narlai (Rajasthan), 12th cent.

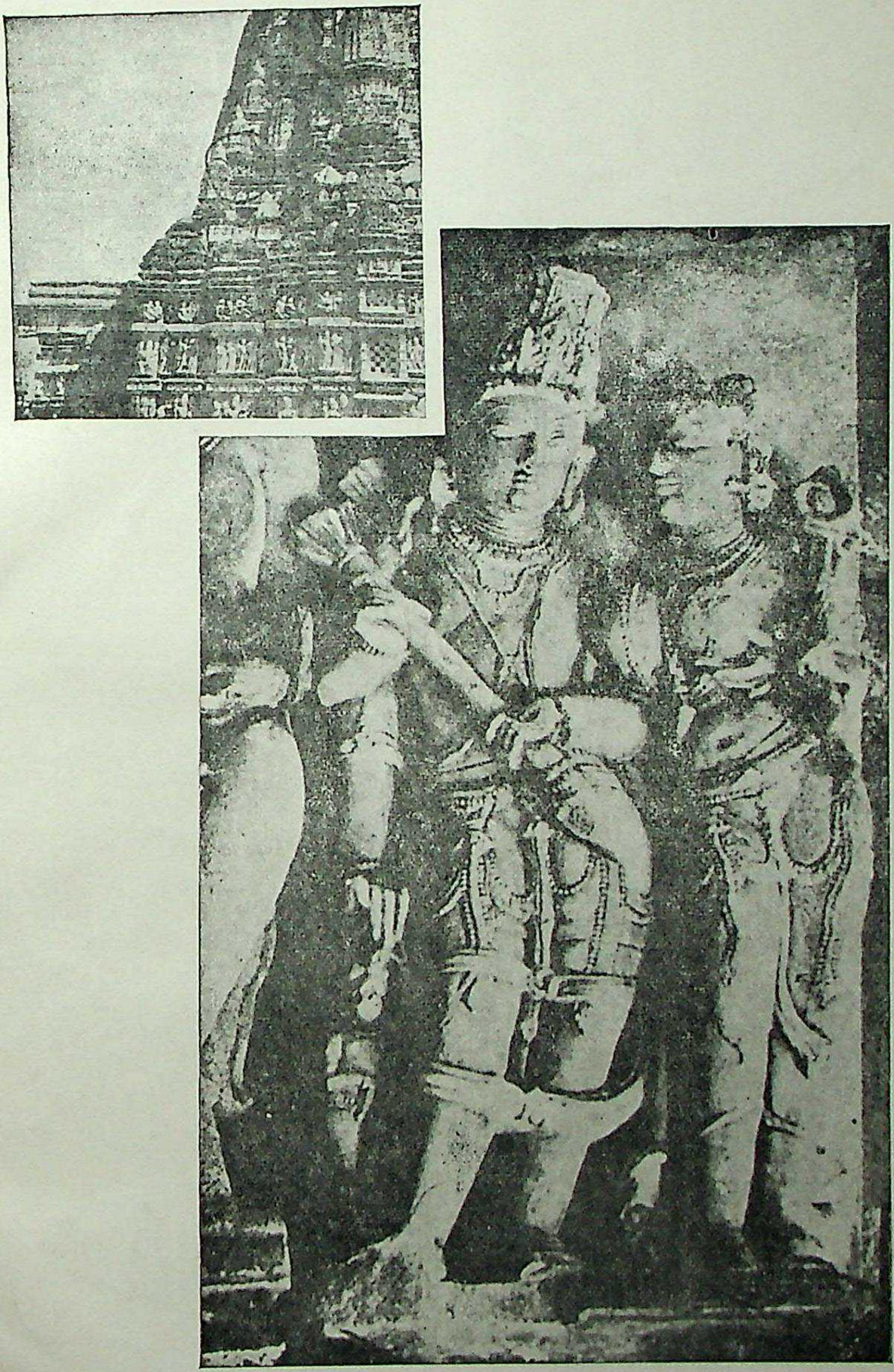

Fig. 46 Rama-Sita, Parshvantha Temple, Khajuraho, c. 954.

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Dr. Maruti Nandan Prasid Tiwari, Lecturer, Department of History of Art, Banaras Hindu University. He has specialised in the field of Jaina iconography and as a consequence of his researches published a book 'Jaina Pratima-vijnana' (Hindi : Varanasi, 1981) and a number of research papers on the selfsame subject. At present he has been working on different research projects under the schemes of the Univergity Grants Commission and the Indian Council of Historical Cesearch, New Delhi.

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